THE SHEPHERDING OF BLACK CHRISTIANS

A Dissertation
Presented to
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by
David D. Hurst
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This dissertation, written by

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated To All of My Pastors. My mother, Mary Katherine Hurst, daughter of a Baptist preacher, Rev. A. W. White, who built three churches in his lifetime, was my first pastor. She shepherds me to this day. Rev. David Russell (whose first name I bear and whose last name my son bears), along with my grandfather above, were sons of former slaves in Louisiana. Russell, who could not read, was assistant pastor of the Mount Shasta Baptist Church under Rev. E. A. Millon in Weed, California. Other pastors include the Rev. M. C. Dixon of Second Baptist Church in Fresno, California, his successor Dr. Henry H. Mitchell, Dr. C. A. W. Clark of Good Street Baptist Church in Dallas, Texas, Rev. Earl B. Moore of Saint Paul Baptist Church in New York City's Harlem district, Dr. Ivor Moore of the Walker Memorial Baptist Church in New York City's Harlem district, and my pastor, Rev. Clarence J. Davis of Calvary Baptist Church in Santa Monica, California.

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I appreciated the pressing concern of Dr. Allen Moore for me to wrap up a program which had long extended beyond the date of normal completion and the numerous extensions necessary to finish. Dr. Jack Verheyden, an able systematic theologian, worked with me even though the subject matter was far removed from his field and the program format handicapped him in terms of his contribution to the process. It is doubtful that I would have completed the program without the sustaining presence, patience, and encouragement of Dean Joseph Hough.

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My deepest appreciation goes to the Black Baptist tradition in which I grew up, the Black Church at large, my forebears in the faith, "from slavery to freedom," Black Christians and Pastors. I am especially indebted to the members of the Antioch Missionary Baptist Church in Pomona, California, for their love, support, and prayers. During this period of study we grew from twelve members, and now are approaching three hundred. We moved from a community room which we rented for $15.00 a Sunday for three hours, to a storefront where we stayed for three years, and then to our new building which we have already outgrown.

Much thanks goes to very special people like Mrs. Peggy Pearson, a member of the church which I pastor, for working with me over a year and a half through typing the first draft. I am thankful to two members of my church, both Ganesha High School English teachers in Pomona, California, Mr. Bob Lovee and Mrs. Seleta Johnson. Their expert editorial assistance eliminated the necessity for major revisions, as the first draft submitted for the oral defense was accepted and only required slight revisions.

My wife Gloria deserves a great deal of credit, along with our three children, Carolyn, Katherine, and Russell, for suffering with me through the program over the years. It was a long haul. As a family we had to do without a lot of things to achieve this goal. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be."

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an attempt to prove that there is a need for a broader model of pastoral ministry for the historic Black Churches and the Black Pentecostal movement. The prevailing model of pastoral ministry in the Black Church is based on a narrow perception, consisting largely of preaching.

Available literature on the Black Church was examined and a standardized interview was used with nine Black Pastors to determine from their pastoral practice, experience with others in their denominations, and years in the pastorate whether or not there is a need in the contemporary Black Church for a broader model of pastoral ministry. Part I is the background of the proposed model. The material here focuses on the Black Church, Black people, and the Black Pastors interviewed. Part II is focused on the development of a model for shepherding Black Christians. The material here outlines the proposed model in terms of the pastoral ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing; and the pastoral roles of priest and prophet. The priestly role is viewed in the light of the discipline of pastoral counseling and the prophetic role in the light of societal systems.

The results revealed that the legacy of the African Priest, Medicine man, slave preacher parallels the total liberating ministry of Christ and can be recommended for achieving pastoral balance in the Black Church. The Black Pastor is a Shepherd. The Black Pastor is a practitioner of the Liberating Word of God revealed in the Old and New Testaments. The Black Pastor fulfills the total liberating ministry of Christ. This requires a commitment to preaching, teaching, and healing. The Black Pastor works interchangeably and dialectically in the roles of priest and prophet. The Black Christian Pastor is a father/mother figure to Black Christians, and a leader of the extended Black family, the Black Church. The Black Pastor is the spiritual head of the families in the church and the church kinship system.

The contribution of this dissertation is a Black perspective of shepherding, and the belief that the local Black Pastor is the key to completing the liberation process of Black Christians and the race. It argues for a larger commitment to pastoral work than is normally seen in the historic Black Churches and the Black Pentecostal movement.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

Statement

The prevailing model of pastoral care in the Black Church is based on a narrow perception, consisting largely of the preaching ministry. A broader model is needed which incorporates preaching, teaching, and healing into the pastoral roles of priest and prophet. This, in essence, is the model Christ used. Kelsey says, "Jesus' ministry was to preach, teach, and heal. It was to be the same ministry for his disciples, for his church."[1]

The following are key passages of scripture for this model:

Luke 4: 16-19:

> And he came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and he went to the synagogue, as his custom was, in the sabbath day. And he stood up to read; and there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book and found the place where it was written,
>
> "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
> because he has anointed me to preach good news
> to the poor.
> He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives
> and recovering of sight to the blind,
> *to set at liberty those who are oppressed*
> to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." (RSV)

John 10: 11-15:

> *I am the good shepherd*. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. He who is a hireling and not a shepherd, whose own sheep are not, sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees; and the wolf snatches them and scatters them. He flees

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[1] Morton T. Kelsey, Healing and Christianity (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 102.

> because he is a hireling and cares nothing for the sheep. I am the good shepherd; I know my own and my own know me, as the Father knows me and I know the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep. And I have other sheep, that are not of this fold; I must bring them also, and they will heed my voice. So there shall be one flock, one shepherd. (RSV)

Mark 16: 15-18 says:

> Go into all the world and *preach the Gospel* to the whole creation. He who believes and is baptized will be saved; but he who does not believe will be condemned, And these signs will accompany those who believe: *in my name they cast out demons;* they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their hands on the sick, and they will recover. (RSV)

Matthew 28: 18-20 adds:

> All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, *teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you:* and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age. (RSV).

White says, "It is the divine plan that we shall work as the disciples worked. Physical healing is bound up with Gospel commission. In the work of the Gospel, teaching and healing are never to be separated."[2] The Black Pastor has traditionally relied, more often than not, solely on preaching. This is a culturally conditioned pattern. Teaching has been at best incidental. Healing has been primarily the by-product of preaching, holding little definite or structural application. To bring preaching, teaching, and healing into a definite or structural application is needed in the Black Church. This is done through the pastoral roles which have historically been forced upon the Black Pastor, priest, and prophet. The objective here is pastoral balance in the Black Church.

There appear to be three types of Black Pastors. The first type is influenced by the pietistic revivalism of evangelical protestantism. This tradition is inherited from the white Baptists and Methodists during slavery. The majority of Black Pastors fall into this heritage. The second type is influenced by the social-political needs of the race. This accounts for a number of Black preacher-politicians from the time of Reconstruction to the present. These prophetically oriented pastors, who were noted for their radicalism, have been few. The third type is influenced by the personal problems of his people and the society which reinforces them. The latter have advantageously used intuition, instinct, and experience.

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[2] Ellen G. White, The Ministry of Healing (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Assn., 1974), p. 87.

The first type relies on preaching ability and personal appeal. The second relies on a strong political following, and the local Black Church as a base of operation. The third relies on an intense personal ministry. What is hoped for and explored are the possibilities of a model with the emphasis of each in a mutually interpenetrating and complementary pastoral ministry.

The local Black Pastor *is the key* to completing the liberation process of Black people. To affect this process, pastoral work outside the pulpit is required. The preacher-type focuses on personal salvation. The preacher-politician has had to use his time and talents elsewhere. The Black Pastor sensitive to pastoral concerns has been limited by training. An awesome responsibility falls on the shoulders of the person called to shepherd Black Christians. This is, however, the responsibility that Christ has laid on those who are his mouthpiece and instruments. Jefferson once said: "The man who humanity most needs is a shepherd. Every messenger of Christ is sent to do a shepherd's work."[3]

Analysis

The analysis of this work proceeds according to the following:

Part I is the background for the proposed model. Chapter 2 is a social and historical overview of the evolution of the Black Church.

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[3] C. E. Jefferson, The Ministering Shepherd (Paris: American Expeditionary Forces, Young Men's Christian Association, 1912), p. 33.

It shows how the minister and the people developed ways of caring for each other and their needs. Chapter 3 is a social and psychological overview of the interpersonal struggle to be a Black person. It shows how Black people in a hostile white world have been demeaned as human beings. Chapter 4 is the contemporary views of Black Pastors. In the light of the foregoing, they confirm whether there is a need for a broader model in the shepherding of Black Christians. It shows the verbal responses of pastors interviewed about the proposed model.

Part II is toward a model of shepherding Black Christians. Chapter 5 is the shepherding of Black Christians. It addresses the issue in terms of the ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing. Chapter 6 is the shepherding Black Pastor as counselor. It addresses the issue of the Black Pastor in the priestly role. Chapter 7 is shepherding Black Christians and systemic structures. It addresses the issue of the Black Pastor in the prophetic role.

A summary and conclusions are drawn. Recommendations are made for further research. It is hoped that others will be able to build on this exploratory study, which does not attempt to be definitive. It is what a novice Black Pastor believes will be more helpful today in dealing with the multifaceted and prodigious concerns of Black Christians and the race. The writer is at the theoretical stage of his development.

Delimitations

The methodology of this study is limited to research of relevant literature and interviews with Black Pastors recorded in Chapter 4.

A definite limitation to this study is the lack of published material for the Black Pastor written within the cultural frame of reference of the historic Black Churches, especially on pastoral work. What does exist is shallow. For example, H. Beecher Hicks, in Images of the Black Preacher, in a chapter entitled, "The Romance of the Black Pastorate," presents a rather superficial analogy on the relationship between a Black Pastor and people, comparing it to the stages of a marital relationship. He avoids altogether any discussion of the pastoral responsibilities of the Black Pastor.

A political science professor at Columbia University, Charles V. Hamilton, in The Black Preacher in America, writes about the autonomy, the emotional, and the charismatic relationship of the Black Pastor. His chapter, "The Preacher and His People," says he is seen as a colorful and pivotal figure in the lives of the parishioners. Nothing is said about the Black Pastor's pastoral responsibilities.

Two Baptist Pastors, Floyd Massey, Jr., and Samuel Berry McKinney, collaborated in writing Church Administration in the Black Perspective, which includes a chapter on "The Tradition of Lay and Pastoral Relationships." It is an overview of how the pastoral relationship of the Black Pastor and the people originates in the African kinship system prior to slavery and the existing parallels in the mainline Black Churches today.

Joseph A. Johnson, a former professor of New Testament in the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia, and C.M.E. Bishop, in Soul of the Black Preacher, makes an excellent introductory remark on the nature and scope of the historic relationship of the Black Pastor and people. However, this is not detailed in the subsequent lectures, sermons, and addresses which the volume contains. The pastoral relationship, however, is touched on briefly. A theological perspective is given in a sermon entitled "Wholeness through Jesus Christ."

Edward P. Wimberly, professor in pastoral care and counseling at the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, Georgia, has written a book entitled Pastoral Care in the Black Church. This book is a rehash of the Black Church experience, using the traditional white categories and idiom in the field of pastoral care and counseling. He applies the Clebsch and Jaeckle framework of guiding, healing, sustaining, and reconciling. This suggests that one form of care was dominant in a particular period. Other forms were at work simultaneously in other periods. His understanding of the Black Church is sketchy. This is probably due to his reliance on E. Franklin Frazier's interpretation of the Black Church. Recently, Black Church scholars have questioned and moved away from Frazier's "smashed culture" presentation. It may also be due to the fact that Wimberly is a Presbyterian. The book does not reflect the experiences of the historic Black Churches (Methodists, Baptists) and the Pentecostal movement.

Other than the foregoing writings, there are numerous biographies and autobiographies of Black Pastors. These also do not discuss pastoral work but are primarily concerned with chronological facts, important people and places, and key events in their lives.[4] The one autobiography which does discuss pastoral work is the great Howard Thurman's recent book With Head and Heart. Thurman, a Black Baptist minister who founded the first interracial church in America, The Church of All Peoples, in San Francisco, California, focused primarily on mysticism, meditation, and developing one's inner devotional life. His pastoral ministry was unique in this respect, outside the realm of the historic Black Churches and the Pentecostal movement.

The interviews in Chapter 4 will help to overcome the limitation of written material on the pastoral work of the Black Pastor. A set of questions was used in individual interviews with eight Black

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[4] Among the several autobiographies and biographies of Black Pastors are: Rt. Rev. Richard Allen, The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960); Miles Mark Fisher, The Master's Slave Elijah John Fisher (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1922); Henry McNiel Turner, Life and Times of Henry McNiel Turner (Atlanta: n.p., 1917); Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., Upon This Rock (New York: Abyssinian Baptist Church, 1949); Reverdy C. Ransom, The Pilgrimage of Harriet Ransom's Son (Nashville: Sunday School Union, n.d.); Richard Ellsworth Day, Rhapsody in Black: The Life Story of John Jasper (Valley Forge: The Judson Press, 1967); James W. English, The Prophet of Wheat Street: The Story of William Holms Borders (Elgin, Ill.: David C. Cook Publishing Co., 1973); Charles Emerson Boddie, God's "Bad Boys": Eight Outstanding Black Preachers (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1972); Rev. Dr. J. Raymond Henderson, Nuthing for Mah Journey (Los Angeles: Second Baptist Church, n.d.).

Pastors from southern California and one pastor from Brooklyn, New York. Each Pastor was asked the same questions, which focused on the proposed model. Each Pastor is a member of one of the historic Black Churches and/or the Pentecostal movement.

Black Methodists:

African Methodist Episcopal
African Methodist Episcopal Zion
Colored (Christian) Methodist Episcopal

Black Baptists:

National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc.
National Baptist Convention of America
Progressive National Baptist Convention

Black Pentecostals:

Apostolic Assemblies of the World
Church of God
Church of God and Christ

Nine men are leaders in their respective denominations, locally, statewide, and nationally. One moves in national and international religious circles, is heavily involved in Black economic development and Civil Rights. Three are popular preachers. Three are influential in the religious and secular community. Two are academically outstanding. One pastor holds a job with the state of California. One has written a book published by his denomination. Each man has averaged over twenty years in the pastorate, and they represent a wide range in pastoral style and emphasis and involvement.

Their views, however, should be checked out by more comprehensive research in their respective denominations. This is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Generalizations on their views must be tentative because of the small, restricted locale of the sample. Further, neither Black lay people nor Black women pastors were interviewed. This is a further limitation on generalizations based on the interviews.

Considering the cited limitations, it is hoped that this study will meet several needs. One obvious need is to help fill the void for productive Black Church scholarship for the academic community. A second need is to produce works that will create dialogue, stimulate further research, focus on the work of the practicing Black Pastor. A third need is for relevant and useful pastoral literature to be made available for the Black Pastor. Most of the literature focuses on the Black Pastor as a preacher. A fourth need is for a broader range of tools made available for Black Church Pastors, which can be used in shepherding Black Christians.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Definitions

The following terms will be helpful in understanding the theoretical base of this dissertation, and the writer's attempt to construct a model of pastoral care in the Black Church:

Black Pastor. The Black Pastor is a Christian minister who shepherds Black Christians and is a practitioner of the liberating Word of God in the context of the Black Church.

Black Christians. Black Christians are persons who were treated as nonpersons and who organized their own churches to find a reason for being and a sanctuary from oppression.

Liberating Word. The liberating Word is recorded in the Old and New Testaments and is an account of God's revealed activity in "the pilgrimage" of "the disinherited" in their struggle with oppression.

Black Church. The Black Church is the extended Black Family and religio-cultural institution which cared for the individual and group needs of its immediate constituency and the larger pressing needs of the race.

Black Family. The Black Family is the religio-social institution which merged with the Black Church in the slave experience and disenfranchisement as a means of survival and restoration of a broken network of kinship relations which occurred in the African captivity.

Pastoral Balance. Pastoral balance in the Black Church is the mutually interpenetrating and complementary practice of the total ministry of Christ: preaching, teaching, and healing; and the dialectic between the pastoral roles of priest and prophet.

Preaching Ministry. Preaching is the dialogue between the Black pulpit and the Black pew, the culminating and celebrative sharing of the Liberating Word of God as pastor and people walk through the trenches, the rough places in life, and a situation of oppression.

Teaching Ministry. Teaching is the instruction of Black Christians in the priorities of the Liberating Word of God, providing information that addresses itself to the Black Church context and exposing oppressive information and lies about Black People.

Healing Ministry. Healing is the demonstration of the Liberating Word of God as pastor and people touch each other, share their concerns, hurts, and seek wholeness from James Cone's "God of the Oppressed."

Priestly Role. The Black Pastor fulfills the priestly role by counseling Black Christians toward liberation as the pastor preaches, teaches, and heals.

Prophetic Role. The Black Pastor fulfills the prophetic role by helping Black Christians to find liberation through confronting oppressive and systemic structures as the Pastor preaches, teaches, and heals.

Pastoral Counseling. Pastoral counseling in the Black Church is the priestly enabling of the person toward interpersonal, intrapersonal, and psychic liberation. The goal is a healthy Black self-esteem and identity.

Systemic Structures. Systemic structures are those societal systems, organizations, industries, institutions, and technologies contributing to the oppression of Black People and are prophetically confronted by pastor and church.

Below is a diagram of the writer's theory of shepherding:

Diagram

The Black Christian Pastor

Shepherd/Pastor or Father/Mother Figure

a Practitioner of

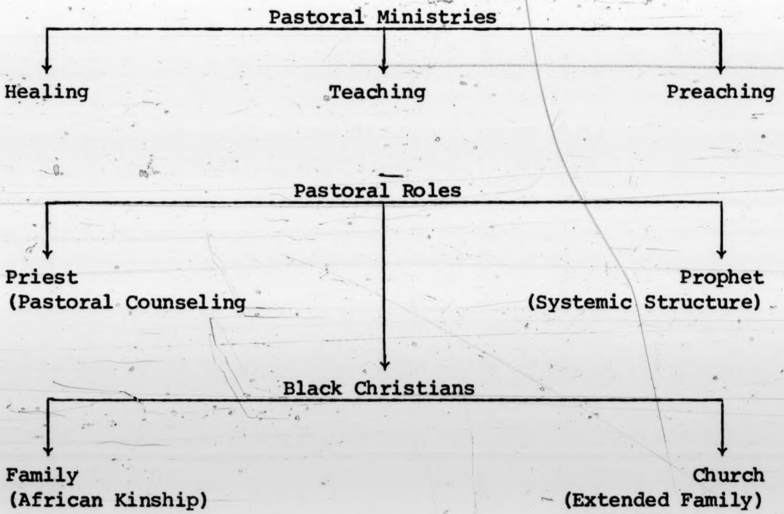
THE LIBERATING WORD OF GOD

Revealed in the

Old and New Testaments

Toward Fulfilling

THE TOTAL LIBERATING MINISTRY OF CHRIST


Pastoral Ministries

Healing

Teaching

Preaching

Pastoral Roles

Priest
(Pastoral Counseling

Prophet
(Systemic Structure)

Black Christians

Family
(African Kinship)

Church
(Extended Family)

Prior studies on shepherding should be acknowledged. Several have become Christian classics. Richard Baxter's The Reformed Pastor treats the subject from the perspective of "Spiritual oversight," focusing on its nature, manner, and motives. The pastor is an instrument and the people partakers of divine grace. Jefferson's Ministering Shepherd treats the subject from a functional perspective, focusing on the model of the Eastern Shepherd as Watchman, guard, guide, physician, savior, feeder, lover of the sheep. His work is grounded in the Old and New Testament scriptures, and like the Baxter work is parish oriented. Seward Hiltner treats the subject from a clinical perspective in The Christian Shepherd and Preface to Pastoral Theology, focuson shepherding as concern and acceptance, clarification and judgment, employing the pastoral use of healing, guiding, and reconciling. His work is the result of one of the pioneers in the Clinical Pastoral Education movement and the theoretical development of pastoral counseling. Because of its strong Biblical base and its parish orientation the Jefferson perspective is emphasized. It is closer to the Black Church Experience.

Basic Assumptions

The basic assumptions are implicit in the foregoing. Each points toward a broader, more balanced pastoral model than that to which the historic Black Churches and the Pentecostal movement are accustomed.

First, the Black Pastor and the Black Church have survived because of their preaching. This must never be lost. If the Black Pastor does nothing else he must continue to preach the Liberating Word of God. The Black Pastor must continue to be a mouthpiece of the Eternal. Let it never be said that the Black Pastor has failed to feed the folk from the deep reservoirs of his experience of oppression with them and from the "unsearchable riches of the Gospel of Jesus Christ!"

Second, Black Christians have suffered and still suffer from a lack of knowledge in their churches. The slavemaster taught Black people that they did not need to be educated. Ignorance keeps many a pastor and people, convention and connection in internal turmoil. Many Black Christians spend more time dealing with each other than learning the priorities of the Liberating Word of God. Splits and schisms are the perennial plague of the historic Black Churches and the Pentecostal movement. Black Christians must be taught to overcome the barriers which keep them behind the times and prevent them from meeting their own needs. As long as Black Christians are not informed, they are their own worst enemies, and will fall short of completing the liberation process. This requires a war on all manner of Black illiteracy. Hence, the Black Pastor must teach the Liberating Word of God. With a rising questioning, and critical intelligentsia among today's Blacks, this is inevitable.

Third, Black people have been wounded and hurt in many areas of their experience. This is the direct result of slavery. Numerous and insidious forms of oppression still exist. The slavemaster taught Blacks how to hurt each other. The Black family suffered most. Blacks have not completely recovered from this traumatic social damage. Families were torn from each other to initiate and perpetuate slavery. Somehow, the Black family must be restored to health and wholeness. This is where the Black Pastor and the Black Church must primarily apply the Liberating Word of God. However, Blacks hurt each other for the same internal reasons as do other groups. The Black Pastor must also help them to overcome their own social and psychological pathology.

Fourth, the contemporary Black Pastor must be conversant with the problems of Black Christians, and help them confront the systemic structures which are detrimental to the health and wholeness of both. Black Christians cannot afford the luxury of private and collective help, but should take responsibility for doing something about their oppressive circumstances. To shepherd Black Christians in this direction is to be priest and prophet. As well as preaching, teaching, healing in ministering the Liberating Word of God, Black Christians need personal and systemic liberation. This is what it means in the Black Church context to fulfill the total liberating ministry of Christ.

PART I

THE BACKGROUND FOR PROPOSED MODEL

Chapter 2

A SOCIAL-HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE BLACK CHURCH

The social and historical evolution of the Black Church is the point of departure for developing a model of ministry integral to the work of the Black Pastor. In order to determine the context for meaningful ministry, pastoral work is informed by the religious and social experience of the people to be ministered to and their particular church tradition. For the contemporary Black Pastor, this begins with understanding the meaning of the Black Church. It is important to understand how the Black Pastor and Black Christians developed a system of care to meet their needs. Not only must the Black Church be understood as a religio-cultural reservoir, a place where certain psychosocial needs could be met, and the center of power in the Black community but also where Pastor and people minister to and care for each other.

SLAVERY AND PLANTATION RELIGION

African Religion and Christianity

The social and historical evolution of the Black Church began with the African captivity. The African captivity was a brutal saga of how the White Christian race attempted to strip the slaves of their religio-cultural heritage. The success of this inhumanity has been a source of scholarly debate for some time.[1]

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[1] The controversy over "African survivals" rages on in scholarly treatments of Black religion, from W. E. B. Dubois and Melville J. Herskovits, who were pro-African survivals, to scholars like E. Franklin Frazier and Gunnar Myrdal who took the opposite position. The early and widely read works on slavery by Kenneth Strampp and Stanley Elkins were based on the latter premise, nearly excluding religion in their treatments of institutional slavery. Recent works by Eugene Geneovise, George P. Rawick, and John Blassingame are a return to the former position. The majority of Black Church scholars, especially in recent

The slave captors had no regard for tribal or family relations, for social or cultural practices, nor for a worldview permeated with religion. The degradation of the Middle Passage, the heinous breaking-in process, the psychic shock of an alien environment and foreign language were devastating factors in the abduction of slaves from their African Motherland. The interpersonal cruelty experienced at each juncture of the transition was the psychological preparation of the slave's mind for a life of servitude.

The captors did everything possible to destroy all forms of religious, social, and cultural cohesion among the slaves before they reached America. Some slaves sought release and peace in the depths of the Atlantic. Many died of diseases before reaching the shores where for centuries chattel slavery would be their common lot. What sustained the slaves who survived in the new and strange land? What kept alive those who were used to build a nation for a race of people who denied in the slaves any semblance of personhood? What helped them to keep their sanity?

The survival of African slaves under the systematic and oppressive conditions of slavery was a testimony to their innate ability to bring the past to bear upon the contingencies of present sufferings. Survival extracted every ounce of creativity the slaves could find. Their ability to change and adapt to their surroundings is a phenomenal fact of history and has recently been recognized. According to George P. Rawick, "If the ability of people to survive requires creative change adequate to the task at hand, then there is no more creative and innovative people in the New World than Black Americans."[2]

The slave's creativity was a development of the stolen moments where they devised strategy and tactics for survival and communal

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years, such as Henry H. Mitchell, Gayraud S. Wilmore, and Cecil Cone side with Dubois and Herskovits.

[2] George P. Rawick, The American Slave (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), p. 31.

resistance. It also allowed them the only time they had to be human. The life the slaves had outside of work, as Rawick points out, was "important in creating and recreating the slave personality and the slave communities."[3] Every aspect of the slave's existence was an account of circumscription. Social proscription, economic limitation, and spiritual domination marked their daily lives. In an effort to fight the plantation system, the slaves reached back consciously and unconsciously to call upon the one thing in their African past that always sustained them in a crisis. They called upon their religion. Creative resistance in the slave community became linked with religious practice. The resistance movement among the slaves brought about the interpenetration of African Religion and Christianity.

It is obvious that however oblique, plantation existence retained some "African survivals." The Africans did not lose all of their social, cultural, and religious patterns of behavior. The classic examples were in the singing of the Spirituals. Wyatt Tee Walker, Pastor of Canaan Baptist Church in New York City's Harlem district, points out the significance of the Spirituals as a weapon of social resistance.

> The most crucial aspect of social change and development for the New World Africans was the resistance they demonstrated to total dehumanization. The syncretized religion that they developed was the focus of that resistance. It surfaced in the music of the antebellum slave period and was carried out by the instrumentality of the oral tradition that survived the horrendous Atlantic slave trade.[4]

The "syncretized religion" Walker is referring to was the merger of Christianity and African religion. The Spirituals demonstrated the tenacity of the slave's resistance, and how they were themselves as humans. According to Walker:

> When one considers the hostile environment in which Spirituals were born and developed, it is easily understood why the primary representation of the Spiritual must be seen as the implicit

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[3] Ibid., p. 32.

[4] Wyatt Tee Walker, Somebody's Calling My Name (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1979), p. 45.

> tenacious insistance on the slave's humanity. The matter of self-image is crucial to an oppressed people, individually and collectively. The deposit of the preliterate slave's creative energy into the development of this marvelous mine of music, more than anything else, affirmed their humanity. With their humanity intact, the slaves were better fortified to endure what they had to endure in the midst of the slave and caste system in America.[5]

What was African in religious orientation, however, in time became something altogether new in merging with Christianity. Blassingame gives this example:

> Sacred festivals, funeral rites, dirges and wakes, dances and festivals expressing joy and thanksgiving, sacred objects and images, and charms and amulets for protection against evil spirits were the usual elements found in traditional religions. Funerals were especially important to Africans, and often were expensive, drawn out affairs involving a long period of mourning, and the burial of personal objects with the deceased. All the friends and relatives of the deceased visited the family for a month after his death, delivered condolences, and periodically arranged great feasts with much singing, dancing, and drinking to prevent the family from brooding over their loss. The merriment was also indicative of the African belief that upon dying one went "home."[6]

Blassingame gives another example:

> The similarities between many European and African cultural elements enabled the slave to continue to engage in many traditional activities or to create a synthesis of European and African cultures. In the process of acculturation the slaves made European forms serve African functions. An example of this is religion. . . . Christian forms were so similar to African religious patterns that it was relatively easy for the early slaves to incorporate them with their traditional practices and beliefs. In America Jehovah replaced the Creator, lesser gods. . . . After

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[5] Ibid., p. 46.

[6] John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 17-18. Cf. Henry H. Mitchell, Black Belief (New York: Harper & Row, 1975). See his chapter on "African Roots of American Black Belief." In Black Religion and Black Radicalism (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), p. 19, Gayraud S. Wilmore said: "We know that the Africans who were imported to the New World could not have been completely divested of belief systems."

> a few generations the slaves forgot the African deities represented by the Judeo-Christian gods, but in many other facets of their religious services they retained many African elements.[7]

Plantation religion was a combination of Euro-Christian and African religious features. The slaves syncretized what was appropriate and helpful from each. This was not to underestimate the traumatic shock of enslavement. Its harsh effects crushed many Africans. "The psychic impact of what they had undergone was so great that a majority of newly imported Africans, exhausted from the journey which often lasted more than six months from the time of their capture, offered little resistance to their master."[8] Those who did last drew what they could from their ancient but pragmatic religious belief systems. They found the same pragmatic quality in Christianity.

The slaves struggled heroically against every manner of human cruelty the plantation system produced. Amazingly, they were able to still affirm the goodness of God and express joy in life. Their religion was the dynamic factor in allaying the daily mental torture suffered. Wilmore points out the awful impact on the slave's psyche: "It could scarcely be more than the subconscious manifestation of the nightmarish reality of almost every waking hour."[9]

Slavemasters and Missionaries

The planters initially resisted the extension of Christianity to the slave. A controversy raged over whether a slave could simultaneously be a slave and a Christian. The planters were favored with the passing of legal statutes. Despite mass conversions to Christianity, master and slave were not brought closer together. Conversion to Christianity did not free the slaves. This situation was plagued with too much fear, and the true meaning of Christianization could not be hidden. It meant a false representation of the true God of the Bible. Lincoln describes the reality of the Christianization of the slaves:

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[7] Blassingame, pp. 17-18. [8] Ibid., p. 10.

[9] Wilmore, in this historical and theological treatment of the Black Church, traces the radical impulse in Black Religion (p. 15).

> The Christianization of slavery meant . . . the sanctification of the practice of slave-holding as having biblical precedent and spiritual merit. It implied the approval, even the favor of God for saving the African from a life of savagery. It meant the implementation of a curse on the "sons of Ham" who are destined forever to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Also a part of the rationale of slavery was the belief that the enslavement of the "lesser breeds" was an inevitable and necessary step toward the fulfillment of the White race's "manifest destiny," a destiny which somehow converted the Black man's labor into the White man's burden.[10]

On the other hand, many planters feared the results of making the slaves Christians. Lincoln says, "One real fear of the slave owner was that the Christian slave might forget his place in the scheme of things."[11] Handy points to the problem in connection with the practice of baptism.

> Even after this was made clear, many slave-owners were little concerned about having slave children in their plantations baptized, some out of indifference, others not wanting to assume obligations of sponsorship, or feeling that conversion would make them poor slaves. Some feared that the Christianization of the Blacks would minimize the differences between master and slave, and increase the potential for rebellion.[12]

The slave and master lived in different worlds and faced different realities. They also shared different perceptions of each other. Gayraud S. Wilmore, holder of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Chair of Black Church Studies at Colgate Rochester Divinity School in New York says, "The religious beliefs and rituals of any people are inevitably and inseparably bound up with the material and psychological realities of their daily existence. Certainly those realities for the slaves were vastly different from those experienced by the slavemasters."[13]

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[10] C. Eric Lincoln, "The Development of Black Religion in America," Review and Expositor, 70, 3 (Summer 1973), 302.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Robert T. Handy, A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 71.

Most slavemasters impeded the involvement of their slaves in religious practices. In some cases, the more pious natured provided their slaves with religion. The slavemaster's brand of religion was self-contradictory. The slaves did not accept everything the slavemasters told them about the moral teachings of Jesus. The self-contradictory behavior of the masters defied this transaction. The planters gave the slaves a censored and edited version of Biblical Christianity. Plantation religion increasingly became an instrument of control, but the slaves did not accept the situation. They were not fools. Their perceptions, feelings, and instincts along with their mental notes helped them to sense the real truth.

For reasons of economic expediency, some slavemasters were duped into believing that Christian conversion would make the heathen a better slave. The slaves had the dubious position of being Christians and slaves. Ironically, the slave trade was encouraged on Christian grounds. On the other hand, there were a few sensitive slavemasters who cared for the needs and spiritual welfare of their slaves. These were the exceptions. The general rule which even prevailed in religious matters was to "make them stand in fear."[14] Christianity became an instrument of intimidation and control.

One factor which helped to temper the tyranny of the slavemasters were the White missionaries who labored during the First and Second Great Awakenings. Frontier revivalism swept the country.

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[13] Wilmore, p. 1.

[14] See pp. 156-162 in Kenneth M. Stampp's The Peculiar Institution (New York: Vintage Books, 1956). Stampp briefly touches on religion in the slave's experience, but is primarily concerned with a socioeconomic interpretation. His statements on religion should be understood in this context. His understanding of the slave as a commodity stands as a lasting contribution. The salability of the slave overshadowed all other considerations.

Writing about the impact of revivalism, Handy said: "Blacks were also gathered up in the revival thrust--the Awakeners sought to save the souls of whomever they could reach, and some slaves numbered among the new congregations."[15] Even though some planters allowed the revivalist on the plantation, tight supervision kept the slaves in line. Church-going depended solely on the disposition of the master.

The missionaries had a positive and negative effect on plantation religion. The White missionary preachers helped to promote morality and regulate family life in the slave quarters. They also helped to temper the treatment of slaves by their masters. Some urged respect for the slave's feelings, based on Biblical injunctions. They appealed for a more humane master-slave relationship. In some cases, the slave-masters were reminded of their duties for the personal and spiritual care of their slaves. The missionary influence, to some extent, aided the slaves in coping with their fear of the master.[16] The slaves took advantage of the missionaries' presence whenever possible. This was their way of countering the slave-master's will. According to Genovese, ". . . the master-slave relationship rests, psychologically as well as ideologically, on the transformation of the will of the slave into an extension of the will of the master."[17]

White preachers were instruments of control. Their credibility among the slaves, their political posture, and sermons echoing European class pretensions were abhorred and rejected. Preston Williams of Boston University School of Theology, however, is quick to point out that ". . . this concern of the White Christian for the Black man must be acknowledged. Without this missionary concern the assimilation of new ideas, the forming of new patterns, and the development of community consensus regarding religious truth would have been more difficult."[18] Most missionaries conformed to the status quo of the plantation system. Their work and continued presence depended on reinforcing it. It was hard to say how much the missionaries really cared for the slaves and how they tried to address their needs.

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[15] Handy, A History of the Churches, p. 95.

[16] Blassingame, pp. 169-170.

[17] Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. 165. The thesis of this outstanding book compares favorably with the Blassingame book.

With the ambivalency and uncertainty of the situation, in that the slaves saw through the hypocrisy of the Christian slavemasters and the missionaries, why were they so receptive to Christianity? Why would Black slaves accept a religion employed to bring them into compliance with the slave system? Henry H. Mitchell suggests that the religio-cultural soil for the receptivity of Christianity on the part of the slaves made it easy to plant in their hearts and minds. The slaves' African belief system made this possible. Mitchell tells why:

> The early slave, then, was not an eager animist without religious belief. Rather, he was in many ways already a "Christian" believer and practitioner. His apparent openness to the Christian faith stemmed from his desire to follow his strong religious bent in a manner both consistent with his heritage and adequately related to the religious processes and practices of his new home.[19]

The slaves had their own interpretive framework. They interpreted what happened through their own minds. Earlier perspectives on the slaves, slavemasters, and missionaries suggest an oral dependent relationship. Slaves were believed to be totally dependent on their White superiors and were not able to do or think for themselves. The paternalistic slavemasters and missionaries mistakenly played the role of punitive superego figures.

Indirectly, the slaves read the Bible for themselves. They did not totally hear what their superiors wanted them to hear. They did not totally see what their superiors wanted them to see. They did not totally feel what their superiors wanted them to feel. They did not totally think what their superiors wanted them to think. Their cognitive apparatus taught them something else. The result was that they did their own translating of the Christian faith. This was the theological foundation in the social and historical evolution of the Black Church. Mitchell says: "Slaves, not masters, took the initiative to translate their African beliefs into English and into inescapably Christian terms. They also sorted through the Christian Bible and selected the ideas useful to them in the new slave experience."[20]

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[18] Preston N. Williams, "Black Church: Origin, History, Present Dilemmas," paper read to the National Committee of Black Churchmen (St. Louis, Mo.: National Committee of Black Churchmen, n.d.), p. 6. (Mimeographed)

[19] Henry H. Mitchell, Black Belief, p. 10.

The slaves fooled the slavemaster. They made him think that they were totally susceptible to the racist Gospel preached to them. They were susceptible only to the extent that they could not survive the beatings associated with this form of demonism. They were not even sure the slaves who were being saved had souls. The slaves recognized that the Christian slavemasters were trying to improve their marketable value. Mitchell says:

> By the time the masters were widely willing to concede souls to slaves, satisfied that Christian faith could be used to enforce obedience and increase market value, the slaves had long since established their underground version of the true faith; and they were well along in their own "invisible institution," or underground church.[21]

The Invisible Institution

The distorted version of Christianity given the slaves, along with the spiritual subjection of the master class, drove them underground. No people can long endure daily insults, servitude, and a whip against their backs without some form of physical and psychic retreat to renew their "will-to-live." The "night meetings," occurring before dawn, gave the slaves a temporary sanctuary for revitalizing themselves. The slaves sang, danced, prayed, preached, shouting themselves into a frenzy and states of total unconsciousness. The themes of these meetings are in what Dubois, referring to the spirituals, called the Sorrow Songs.[22] The existential themes of grief and hope, reunion with relatives, solace from suffering, freedom and deliverance, reverberated throughout these meetings. They revealed how the slaves cared for each other, how they tried to meet each other's personal and emotional needs, and even how they prayed for their mean slavemaster.

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[20] Ibid. [21] Ibid.

The classic Spiritual, "Steal Away to Jesus," reflects the essence of these night gatherings:

Steal away, steal away,
Steal away to Jesus;
Steal away, steal away home,
I ain't got long to stay here.

My Lord, he calls me,
He calls me by the thunder,
The trumpet sounds within-a my soul
I ain't got long to stay here.

Green trees a-bending,
Poor sinner stands a-trembling,
My Lord, he calls me,
He calls me by the lightning.

The Sorrow Songs revealed the pathological existence and expressed the submissive cries of distraught, broken hearted slaves. They showed what they cared about and what gave them meaning. The late E. Franklin Frazier, prominent Black sociologist, coined the phrase the Invisible Institution. Frazier contends that "the sacred folk-songs express the awe and wonder of the Negro in regard to life and death and his emotional reactions to the complexity of his existence. . . ."[23]

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[22] See Chapter XIV in W. E. B. Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk (Greenwich, Conn.: Crest Book, 1965), p. 181 f. For Dubois the Spirituals were "sorrow songs," expressing the deep grief of Black slaves for their lost African homeland and the vulturous plight of slavery.

[23] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), pp. 12-13. Frazier, like Mays and Nicholson before him in their study of the Negro Church, held that the Spirituals were largely otherworldly in their basic themes, serving escapist and compensatory functions in expressing the slaves' frustrations.

One cannot deny the themes of death, the plaintive cries of agony, judgment and loneliness in the Spirituals. The existential realities recorded in the Spiritual point to the concrete ability of the slaves' "will-to-meaning" in an absurd situation.

Indeed, sorrow was the common lot of the slaves. It allowed them to deal with the brutality of the situation in a creative manner. Slave funerals were a case in point, where they were acutely sensitive to one another's needs. The Spirituals reflect this sensitivity, the reality of sorrow as a part of life. Wilmore says:

> The slaves certainly knew sorrow, but they knew it as an inevitable part of the natural life--of creaturely life--and they lowered themselves into its depths in funeral services and in mournful songs and spirituals, not out of compulsion but as a way of feeling of being more deeply nourished by the power of the tragic infinitude, without which man cannot fully realize himself and his place in the mysterious womb of the universe.[24]

It was the slaves' way of feeling that made the Invisible Institution critical for psychological survival. Essentially, the Invisible Institution gave the slaves a reason for being in an inhumane environment. It also gave them a sense of inner autonomy, which official religion could never give them. The restrictions employed for social accommodation, acculturation, and control were gone in these clandestine meetings. Lasting bonds were made and a sense of community developed. Rawick adds:

> The slaves' religious ceremonies emphasized and tightened the social bonds among people. In the religious meetings the people of the slave quarters gathered together to discuss the events of the day, to gain new strength from the communal reality to face their individual realities, to celebrate the maintenance of life in the midst of adversity, and to determine the communal strategies and tactics. Out of these meetings came the modern Black Church.[25]

The slave resistance movement, particularly as it found expression in the Invisible Institution, was contrary to the theory that the slaves were Sambos who completely regressed to a level of infantilism. In their relations with the master class, they never accepted the status of a child. They fought for manhood and womanhood. They fought for adulthood. The "night meetings" produced something more than an emotional catharsis. The "ring shout"--the height of catharsis--symbolized the humanitarian bonds between the slaves and their quest for life without chains. Blassingame is correct: "Shouting, singing, and preaching, the slaves released all of their despair and expressed their desires for freedom."[26]

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[24] Wilmore, p. 16.   [25] Rawick, p. 37.

There is no way to estimate the value of these meetings for the healing of Black wounds. An example of the inestimable value and meaning which evolved from the "night meetings" were several cultural forms that became a part of the daily lives of the slaves as they worked in the fields and in the kitchens. They developed a fervent manner of caring in sharing themselves with one another. Outside the Invisible Institution, the slaves shared folk tales and secular songs which became known as the Blues. These songs had their roots in the "night meetings." Blassingame says these cultural forms had therapeutic value for the slaves.

> The therapeutic value of this should not be dismissed lightly. Not only did these cultural forms give the slave an area of life independent of his master's control, they were important psychological devices for repressing anger and projecting aggressions in ways that contributed to mental health and involved little physical threat.[27]

Another example had to do with the group solidarity related to psychic release the meetings generated. Necessity demanded that the slaves devise various ingenious ways of coping and protecting themselves. They found protection in the group, united by their cultural forms. Blassingame suggests that:

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[26] Blassingame, p. 66.

[27] Ibid., p. 59. Cf. Henry H. Mitchell, Black Belief, p. 15. He has pointed out: "The secret prayer and praise meetings had literally kept enslaved Africans alive by keeping alive the roots of their African experience."

> Having a distinctive culture helped the slaves to develop *a strong sense of group solidarity*. They united to protect themselves from the most oppressive features of slavery and to preserve their self-esteem. . . . As long as the plantation Black had cultural forms and ideals, ways of verbalizing aggression, and roles in his life largely free from his master's control, he could preserve some personal autonomy, and resist infantilization.[28]

The importance of group solidarity found in the "night meetings" of the Invisible Institution cannot be understood apart from the central figure who performed the dual role of priest and prophet. The priest-prophet was the instrumentality of healing and dealing with human hurt and attacking the slave system. According to Wilmore, "It is true that all kinds of religious workers were included among the slaves--from high priests and priestesses to diviners and root doctors."[29] They were noted for their many talents, and their ability to help slaves cope with servitude.

They were the ringleaders of the "secret meetings" which took place in the Invisible Institution. Wilmore adds: ". . . most of the so-called 'conjure men' and 'voodoo doctors' who rose to stature and leadership in the secret plantation meetings of the slaves, were men of ability and integrity who took their vocations with the utmost seriousness."[30]

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[28] Blassingame, pp. 75-76. See also Stanley M. Elkin, Slavery (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1963). Elkin's widely acclaimed work has received many accolades. Recently, Genovese and Blassingame have attacked his theory of infantilism, which the work is based on, using the psychoanalytic model of Sigmund Freud on infantile regression, the interpersonal model of Harry Stack Sullivan, and the role play model of John Dollard. The work further is based on the assumption of complete docility of the slaves to the wills of the master. It does not treat religion and culture, which were dynamic factors in the slaves' ability to sustain their own open society against the closed society of the plantation system.

[29] Wilmore, p. 23.

[30] Ibid., p. 24. Cf. Rawick, p. 24. He says, "He de leader in

The slave preacher, who spearheaded the resistance movement symbolized freedom for the slaves. His priestly role took into account a variety of functions for the health of the slaves. "It was not only in the identification of the healing properties of plants and minerals or in the exorcism of demonic influences that these 'medicine men preachers' contributed to the security of the uprooted slave."[31] The slave preacher knew that the people had certain needs which they required for their survival, especially the need for emotional release from the anxieties of plantation life and the need for not losing hope in life. Their needs further had "to do with physical survival, psychic stability, and ultimately with liberation."[32]

The message of the slave preacher was hope and liberation. Wilmore says: "He continued, therefore, to preach; what in his own situation he considered to be the pragmatic implications of the message that Christ had made all men free and that the day would surely come when the truth of the gospel would be manifest."[33] The slave preacher, therefore, preached survival, taught survival, and demonstrated (healing) survival. They were priests to their people. On the other hand, they were conspiring prophets of doom and active in the destruction of the slave system. "In the absence of the opportunity and the means of fomenting successful insurrection, this attack on the flanks and from the rear of the enemy--a king of psychological guerrilla warfare--was

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ligion." Hicks speaks of the ". . . unknown preachers, the invisible plantation prophets and field philosophers." See H. Beecher Hicks, Jr., Images of the Black Preacher (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1977), p. 36.

[31] Rawick, p. 26. See Genovese, p. 36. "The slaves, guided by their preachers, resisted slavery's psychological assault manfully; they learned to love each other and have faith in their deliverance."

[32] Rawick, p. 34.

[33] Wilmore, p. 72. See Genovese, p. 263. "The preachers walked a tight rope. They knew that they had to rely on the protection of their masters. As men of God who cared about the spiritual life of the slaves, their unwillingness to separate theology from sociopolitical

the conspiratorial response of Black preachers to White oppression."[34]

Writing of the priestly role of the slave preacher, Dubois said:

> The vast power of the priest in the African state is well known; his realm alone--the province of religion and medicine--remained largely unaffected by the plantation system. The Negro priest, therefore, early became an important figure on the plantation and found his function as the interpreter of the supernatural, the comforter of the sorrowing, and as the one who expressed, rudely but picturesquely, the longing and disappointment and resentment of a stolen people.[35]

Reflecting on the slave preacher's priestly role in terms of mental health, Thurman said:

> The ante-bellum Negro preacher was the greatest single factor in determining the spiritual destiny of the slave community. He it was who gave to the masses of his fellows a point of view that became for them a veritable Door of Hope. His ministry was greatly restricted as to movement, function, and opportunities of leadership, but he himself was blessed with one important insight: he was convinced that every human being was a child of God. . . . Many weary, spiritually and physically exhausted slaves found new strength and power gushing up into all the reaches of their personalities, inspired by the words that fell from this man's lips. He had discovered that which religion insists is the ultimate truth about human life and destiny. It is the supreme validation of the human spirit. He who knows this is able to transcend the vicissitudes of life, however terrifying, and look out on the world with quiet eyes.[36]

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questions did not arise from an indifference to theology, but from a holistic vision of life."

[34] Wilmore, p. 73. See Hicks, p. 36. "Not oblivious to the social reality about them, Black preachers were able for a time to pacify White masters while maintaining a continuing conscious awareness of the inherent evil and wickedness of the system by which they were bound."

[35] W. E. B. Dubois, The Negro (Oxford University Press, 1970; reprint of 1915 ed.), p. 113.

[36] Howard Thurman, Deep River (New York: Harper & Row, 1945), pp. 11-12.

THE PRE- AND POST-CIVIL WAR BLACK CHURCH

Proselyting Baptists and Methodists

The missionaries introduced Christianity to the slaves through various religious groups and divergent theological perspectives. Inroads had been made earlier by the self-serving Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which did little more than sanction the slave system. The S.P.G. focused its efforts on Indians and Blacks, experiencing some success.

C. Eric Lincoln points out why the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent missionaries to the colonies to work among the slaves and Indians. "The New England colonies were as unreceptive to the S.P.G. as were the Southern planters."[37] He adds: "In the South, after strong initial opposition from the Southern slavemasters . . ., the Society for Propagation of the Gospel was permitted eventually to work among the slaves; but only after the legal issue of holding Christian slaves had been settled to the satisfaction of the slave owners; and only upon the assurance that the Blacks would be taught nothing which might be inimical to their status as slaves."[38]

Where groups like the S.P.G. failed due to severe restrictions and other religious groups working among the slave population in colonial America, some time later, the indomitable Baptists and the irrepressible Methodists were overwhelmingly triumphant in attracting converts in large numbers. Handy points to the primary reason behind the success of the missionary thrust of Methodists and Baptists:

> Methodists and Baptists won growing numbers of Blacks into their ranks during the revolutionary epoch. Because of their willingness to accept Blacks as preachers and their emphasis on congregational self-government, the Baptists especially attracted both enslaved and freed Negroes. The first Black Baptist congregation on record was gathered at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, by eight slaves on the eve of the Revolution. Other congregations were

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[37] Lincoln, "Development of Black Religion," p. 306. [38] Ibid.

> formed by 1800, while a number of benevolent and mutual aid societies in the cities of the northeast were really quasi-churches. Slaves also became members of older churches; some southern congregations had a larger percentage of Black members.[39]

The evangelical piety of the traveling Methodists and Baptists appealed to the emotional temperament of the majority of the slaves. A more important factor was the precocious positions reached early by the Baptists and Methodists on the issue of slavery. The antislavery stand of these respective bodies contributed to their success. Views among the various religious groups proselyting slaves caused problems. Time proved their efforts to be plagued with domestic controversy, political ambivalency, and denominational equivocation.[40] These Protestant groups would insist on religious teaching as being beneficial to the slaves, but reality proved otherwise. In the end, their efforts sanctioned the plantation system. Summarizing missionary educational work among Black slaves, Winthrop S. Hudson said:

> Almost immediately after the outbreak of the war, the need of the Negro "contrabands" who were soon to become free was self-evident--*a need for food, clothing, shelter, work,* and *protection*. But perhaps the greatest need was education, for throughout much of the South it had been illegal to teach a slave to read. While some slaveowners found it to their advantage to evade the law, the great mass of the Negroes were illiterate.[41]

During this period one enthusiastic group made "an appeal for funds to send missionaries to engage in such instruction of the colored people as will enable them to read the Bible and to become self-supporting."[42] The Baptists and the Methodists were instrumental in planting Bible religion in the hearts and minds of slaves. Inadvertently, they planted the seeds for freedom and liberation. Handy said: "Despite the persistence of racialism among most White Christians, the gospel had become an effective bearer of life and meaning for growing numbers of Black Christians."[43]

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[39] Handy, History of the Churches, p. 156.

[40] See Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1972), Ch. 2 for a more detailed account. Woodson is impressed with the way in which White and Black Christians labored together. Also see Robert T. Handy, A Christian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 18 f., 60 f. and Robert T. Handy, "Negro Christianity and American Church Historiography" in Jerald C. Brauer, Reinterpretation in American Church History, V (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 91-112. Handy has much to say about the embarrassing denominational and political duplicity of White Christians.

[41] Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 220. (Italics mine)

The proselyting efforts of the Baptists and the Methodists worked in favor of the slaves and some quasi-free Blacks in the North whose status was defined by the larger enslaved majority. These bodies spawned a gifted generation of Black preachers up to the time of the Civil War. Several preachers became legends in their own time and stamped their names in the annals of Black Church history. Certain highly gifted preachers were supported by their masters and preached to Whites and Blacks. They were men of mark, genius, and charisma. They were products of their time and conditions. These mostly self-taught preachers possessed a deep pastoral concern for their people. Mitchell said they were "men caught up in the Black experience of slavery and oppression."[44]

The religion of the Baptists and Methodists opened an opportunity for self-expression and intensified the thirst for freedom and liberation. The way in which these White Christians cared for the needs of the slaves, however, left much to be desired. This was even true of a few sympathetic Whites who tried to uplift the wretched state of the slaves. Dr. Lawrence N. Jones, Dean of the Divinity School at Howard University, in Washington, D.C., remarks on the negative contribution of White Christians.

> White pastors were *not faithful shepherds of that part of their flock which was Black*. They too often shared the racist assumptions of their White parishioners and the larger community. Many

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[42] Ibid. [43] Handy, History of the Churches, p. 157.

[44] Henry H. Mitchell, Black Preaching (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1970), p. 65.

> found it convenient to preach "colored" funerals, while the pastoral care of the Blacks was assigned to *willing but poorly prepared* . . . local preachers.[45]

Professor Handy calls the foregoing "patronizing politeness." It was representative of the situation in the North; that in the South was worse. For example, in the care of the dead, White Christians did not recognize the seriousness with which the slaves took the demise of loved ones. Unsuccessfully, Whites attempted to supervise slave funerals. They barred Black preachers and forbade public services for the dead without a White man present to officiate. They were, nonetheless, unable to suppress the generally big, long, and festive funerals. The funerals allowed the slaves to participate in the care of their own and to feel themselves a human community. Many funerals, as a result of the restrictions, were held secretly at night. They got away from the controls and the ominous presence of the slavemaster and the White Christians who tried to regulate their funerals. As Genovese points out, "The slaves cared passionately about their funerals. . . ."[46]

While the plantation revivalism of the Baptists and Methodists offered an opportunity to release pent-up frustrations, it did little to deal with what the slaves cared about most. The situation grew progressively and intolerably worse, eventually leading to religiously inspired insurrections.[47] This radical and threatening impulse in Black religion consequently led to a drastic curtailment of religious activities among the slaves. It created a national paranoia within the slaveholding class. Free Blacks in the North, in dramatic fashion, separated from White churches and formed their own. The Methodists and Baptists had planted the seeds for the independent church movement in the North.

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[45] Lawrence N. Jones, "Black Churches in Historical Perspective," Christianity and Crisis, 30 (November 1970), 227. (Italics mine.)

[46] Genovese, Roll Jordan Roll, p. 201.

[47] See Wilmore, pp. 74-102. E.g., the religiously inspired slave insurrections led by Nat Turner, Gabriel Prosseur, and Denmark Vessey may have been influenced by news of the Haitian Revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The Civil War accomplished little to improve the lot of Black slaves, whether in the wider society or the churches. No group will stay where its needs are not being met, and with the defeat of the South, throwing open the door of freedom, this was certainly the case in the plantation South and in the churches. Hudson said:

> It is scarcely surprising that the defeat of the South should have been accompanied by the withdrawal of most Negroes from the churches of their former masters. For one thing, the mere act of leaving was a symbolic expression of their new freedom. Furthermore, few congregations were prepared to give the Negro any different status than he had had as a slave. He was still expected to sit in the back seats or the gallery, was given no voice in church affairs, and had little chance of attaining even the humblest office. Even had the churches pressed for some tangible integration, it is unlikely that the mass of Negroes would have gone along. . . . Nor, even with the best of intentions, could White ministers have spoken pointedly and effectively to their needs, for the White ministers had not experienced what it meant to be a slave.[48]

The Institutional Black Churches

In addition to the impact of the Emancipation Proclamation, the institutional Black churches ensued because of the neglected needs of Blacks in White churches. White Christians, as well as their contemporaries, were infected by the bourgeois belief of the innate inferiority of Black people. This perhaps was one reason why White Christians, even those who found it difficult to reconcile the Gospel and the humanitarian teachings of Jesus with slavery, still had no idea of elevating Blacks to the level of Whites. Those Whites who privately admitted to the rights of Blacks, never publicly championed their cause. In most cases, even those Whites who offered monetary assistance to Blacks to build their own churches gave to those who acquiesced.

The despondent predicament of Blacks, who were denied the American Dream, symbolized by the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, led them, in the words of E. Franklin Frazier, to become a

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[48] Hudson, p. 224.

"nation within a nation." This was the natural consequence of not being welcome in White churches. Even though Blacks were quartered in the "Negro pew" or the "galleries," they were in the way. Extenuating circumstances, which became unbearable, led sensitive men like Richard Allen and Absolom Jones, who were appalled at the inhospitable treatment of their people, to separate themselves from the Whites and form the Free African Society.

The Free African Society was one of the early mutual aid societies to assist in meeting the many needs of dispossessed Blacks. Blacks had always gone to church as a matter of necessity, and the societies became their churches. Wilmore says: "The church has been the one impregnable corner of the world where consolation, solidarity and mutual aid could be found and from which the master and the bossman--at least in the North--could be effectively barred."[49] Wilmore's commentary on the F.A.S. unfurls the wide range of needs it tried to meet:

> The suitability of the Free African Society pattern for meeting multiple needs in the Black community is amply demonstrated by the rapidity and enthusiasm by which it spread from Philadelphia to other cities. Wherever the societies were organized they began as protests against White prejudice and neglect and with the objective of providing not only for religious needs, but for social service, mutual aid and solidarity . . . among the "people of African descent." The African societies did not only express need for cultural unity and solidarity, but protest and resistance of a persecuted people. Richard Allen . . . was convinced that the Whites, even in the City of Brotherly Love, would never permit their churches to serve the social, political and economic needs of Black people.
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> The society was remarkably versatile in its style of life and work. Not only did it pass resolutions regulating the morals of its members--with especial attention to marriage and family life--but it also established a Committee of Monitors whose business it was to visit the membership regularly in order that they might "increase

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[49] Wilmore, p. 106. Cf. Frazier, The Negro Church in America, pp. 35-36. For historical details of the Free African Society see Chapter IV, "The Free African Society," in Charles H. Wesley's Richard Allen (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1935), pp. 55-73.

> in grace and knowledge and every Christian virtue. . . ." Also in that year it decided to begin regular religious services.[50]

The pressing needs of Blacks of "African descent" eventually led to the formation of the institutional Black churches. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, whose first Bishop was Richard Allen, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), whose first Bishop was James Varrick, were subsequently created. These groups took a defiant stand against slavery. They organized the Underground Railroad, and inaugurated the freedom movement. The radical Christianity of these first Black church fathers was also in evidence at the National Negro Convention, which served as a revolutionary platform for the abolitionist movement.[51] The societies provided the impetus for this progress.

> Their charters emphasized the care of widows and orphans, stipends to sick members, provision for education of orphans, and excluded persons of questionable moral character from membership.
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> Viewed from one perspective, the Blacks' churches and mutual aid societies were the means by which aggressive Blacks pursued their individual visions of their own possibilities. The first pulpits of the men who subsequently provided leadership in the churches were the mutual aid societies. *Moved by a strong evangelical commitment and perceiving themselves to have been called to preach the Gospel*, the societies provided an alternative to the pulpits of the religious establishment to which they were denied fully accredited access.
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> Allen and many others who led in the founding of these churches and benevolent societies were pre-eminently evangelists, deeply committed to the truth of the Gospel and zealous to communicate it to those who had not heard it.[52]

The societies were instrumental in the shepherding of Black Christians. Their style and format were definitely African, established along communal bonds (kinship) where members belong one to the other. What happens to one happens to all. Aid for needy members was given based on one's commitment to the community--in this case the F.A.S.--later the Black Church, which became the extended family for these Black Christians. The first Black churches were halfway houses and started because of the need not only to fight for religious liberty, social justice, economic necessity, and political equality, but also for the care of basic human and spiritual needs.

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[50] Wilmore, pp. 113-114. [51] Ibid., pp. 128-130.

[52] Lawrence N. Jones, "They Sought a City: The Black Church and Churchmen in the Nineteenth Century," Union Seminary Quarterly Review, 26, 3 (Spring 1971), 259-260. (Italics mine)

The situation of the first Black church fathers and mothers was not unlike that of the New Testament Apostles in establishing the early church. They wanted to commit themselves primarily to the preaching of the Liberating Word, but could not devote their time fully to this because of the restraining necessity of time for their flocks. The high priority given social, economic, and political matters made shepherding difficult. They did the best they could.

Some of these mutual aid societies emanated from the churches, and "were known as 'sickness and burial' societies. . . . They were supported by the pennies which the Negroes could scrape together in order to aid each other in time of sickness but more especially to insure themselves of a decent burial."[53] Says Jones conclusively,

> The pre-eminent religious reasons for the founding of separate Black institutions was the failure of all but a remnant of the White Christian establishment aggressively to pursue its mission on behalf of Christ among Blacks. Separate institutions were in part a response to the failure of White churchmen to treat their brothers with *equity, respect, care, concern, and love*.[54]

That Black preachers and Christians developed their own system of care to minister to the needs of each other was the impetus that gave birth to the institutional Black Church movement which resulted in the majority of Blacks remaining Baptists and Methodists. They found in their churches the shepherding which they were deprived of in the White churches. The success or failure of a given church depended on its ability to meet the spiritual and practical needs of its members. For the first time, Blacks had something they could call their own and take pride in it. It was the Visible Black Church.

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[53] Frazier, p. 36.

[54] Jones, "They Sought a City," p. 262. (Italics mine)

Disenfranchisement, Reconstruction and White Supremacy

Many Black Church fathers and mothers thought that they could not find the solution to their fate in America. They felt that it was impossible to meet their needs in an environment built on the premise that Blacks were born to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Black ministers were, therefore, involved in a life and death struggle for their race. Some thought that emigration back to Africa was the answer to their dilemma. Needless to say, Black ministers were divided over the feasibility of the Back-to-Africa movement proposed by the American Colonization Society. The self-interests of some ministers contributed to its failure.[55]

The self-interests of Black ministers were not the primary reason the American Colonization Society's proposal of African emigrationism failed. Wilmore believes the answer to its insolvency (failure of the A.E.S.) was "the arrogance of White men, their miscalculation of the self-esteem of free Blacks and their feeling of solidarity with the slaves, rather than an aversion to the idea of emigration and the Christianization of Africa that made Black leaders repudiate the American Colonization."[56] Handy supports Wilmore:

> The American Colonization Society was formally organized early . . . with the support of many persons highly prominent in civil and religious life, many of whom were slaveholders. Its purpose was to return free Blacks, with their consent, to Africa. It received widespread publicity, but its results were rather minimal, with only 12,000 slaves actually freed and colonized, primarily in Liberia. The venture was predicated on the view that Blacks were inferior, could never attain equality in White America, and hence should be encouraged to leave. Understandably, most Blacks

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[55] See Woodson, pp. 146-163, where he speaks of "Preachers of Versatile Genius," whose interests ranged from the educational edification of AME Bishop Daniel A. Payne, to the political involvement of Samuel Reinggold Ward, and even violent overthrow of slavery, as was urged by Henry Highland Garnet and David Walker.

[56] Wilmore, p. 141.

> resisted this approach; . . . soon after the founding of the Colonization Society the nation was reminded of its principles of freedom and justice by prominent Black leaders who pledged themselves not to be separated from their brothers in bondage.[57]

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Christian Americans were put to the test. The political polarities between North and South also created a religious conflict for a nation founded on Christian moral principles. This was "the irony of American History." Blacks found themselves in the role of political pawns.

While there were still some attachments to White churches after the Civil War, in terms of financial support, Black ministers moved forward despite infrequent schisms within their denominational ranks, toward consolidating Black churches and making them independent. In the South, the Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church was formed. The National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc., later emerged.

Though the newly organized Black Churches had their own identity and unique worship style, they resembled the White churches in terms of their basic model. Handy points out:

> The piety of the expanding Black Churches had certain similarities with that of the White evangelical churches, for it was *revivalistic and Bible-centered, emotional* in tone. . . . The religious tone of the churches of the Blacks was affected by their aspirations and needs as an economically and educationally underprivileged people who found in the gospel both prophetic vigour and solace. Patterns of faith took on a distinctive cast, and spiritual resources that sustained a frustrating pilgrimage towards freedom were fed by the enthusiastic preaching, praying, and singing of the congregations. The fact these churches were the primary centers of community and social life in the post-war period brought them especially close to the life of the people.[58]

The aftermath of the Civil War threw Blacks into a state of disarray. The efforts of the Black Churches were admirable in meeting the needs of the crisis. The ministers led the way. A conspicuous need for a ministry to these uprooted Blacks existed. The Black Church became a home for the homeless, and a sanctuary for the weary traveler. Frazier says, quoting Theophilus G. Steward, whose book reflected the tide of events:

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[57] Handy, History of the Churches, p. 186.

[58] Ibid., p. 272. (Italics mine)

> The whole section (in the neighborhood of Charleston, South Carolina) with its hundreds of thousands of men, women and children just broken forth from slavery, was, so far as these were concerned, dying under an almost physical and moral interdict. *There was no one to baptize their children, to perform marriage, or to bury the dead*. A ministry had to be created at once--created out of the material at hand.[59]

According to Frazier, "The material at hand was, of course, the slaves who had been 'called to preach.'"[60] Handy said: "The first significant public institutions that could be completely under the control of the Blacks were the churches. Here the freedmen were unimpeded in moulding the centers to meet the religious and social needs of a newly emancipated but much disadvantaged people."[61] This uncertain situation led to the merger of the Invisible Institution of the plantation South with the institutional churches of the industrial North, especially as Blacks continued to join the connectional-minded Methodists and the autonomous-minded Baptists in large numbers. Black Churches began to burgeon and proliferate, especially across the South.

As time passed, support did come in the field of education. Many church-related Black colleges were founded by various denominations and White philanthropic efforts. According to Hudson, an editor of a leading Southern periodical referred to their efforts as a "'form of Negro philism' which smacks of Yankee fanaticism."[62] The golden era of Reconstruction was launched with the Black college movement to teach the disinherited Blacks, to help them to surmount the problems of reordering their existence and relocating. The result was that the religious life of Black Christians moved toward an organized social life, built around the churches and the Black college movement. Church and school were often one and the same.

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[59] Frazier, p. 272. (Italics mind) [60] Ibid., p. 29.

[61] Handy, History of the Churches, p. 271. [62] Hudson, p. 221.

The Black Church increasingly became an agency of control and influence in family life. It assisted the Black male in assuming authority in his family. An open community life, which Blacks had not known, came into being. The community developed around the Black preacher, his family and relatives. The first Black churches were family churches. Frazier elaborates on the course of events: "It is important to observe that these pioneers in the creation of a communal life generally built a church as well as homes. Many of these pioneer leaders were preachers who gathered their communicants about them and became the leaders of the Negro."[63]

In addition to the prestige of the Black Church in education and family life, its influence also touched American politics. The lure of politics and the urgency of meeting the varied needs of Black people was a point of tension for many politically conscientious and prophetically oriented Black ministers. Some left their pastoral charge for careers in politics; others were able to combine politics and religion.[64] Politically, Blacks were divided into conservative and progressive and/or educated and illiterate camps.[65] The conservative and progressive wings of the Black Church during this period pointed out the tension between the educated Black Christian preachers and the uneducated.[66] Wilmore says, "Radical preacher-politician Henry McNeal Turner held strong Black nationalistic sentiments."[67]

This productive period in the evolution of the Black Church came to an abrupt and disillusioning halt with the restoration of the White supremacy and what C. Vann Woodward called "the strange career of Jim Crow." White supremacy led to a brutal era of violence and racist laws against Black people. In many ways, the period far surpassed the atrocities of slavery. The period gave birth to Jim Crow legislation, lynchings, and secret White supremacy cults. These events and measures were designed to relegate Blacks to their place by the omnipresent threat of physical extinction. Cecil Wayne Cone, formerly a teacher in the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, Georgia, gives a vivid description of the period:

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[63] Frazier, p. 29. [64] Ibid., p. 33. [65] Woodson, pp. 198-223.

[66] Ibid., pp. 224-241. [67] Wilmore, pp. 136-137.

> Soon the South became saturated with secret organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, the Red Shirts, the White League, Mother's Little Helpers, and the Baseball Club of the First Baptist Church. These organizations used the most ruthless methods in American history to insure the dehumanization of Black people: whippings, maimings, cuttings, shootings, lynchings, the slaying of the husband at his wife's feet, the raping of the wife before her husband's eyes, roasting the victim over slow fires, mutilating the victims' bodies.
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> It seemed that this country had in mind the complete extermination of Black people if they were not willing to accept the status of "No-thing." Also it is to be noted that only a small percentage of those that met this kind of death were accused of rape. The overwhelming majority of these victims were charged with such transgressions as failing to say "Mister" to a White man, using offensive language, attempting to vote, seeking another job, testifying against a White man, accepting a job as postmaster, and being too prosperous, disputing over the price of blackberries. It was no use to appeal to the law, because in too many cases the "law" itself did the lynching.[68]

The decline of Reconstruction was not only racially inspired. Political ramifications figured just as importantly in its decline. Handy points out why:

> During the period of Reconstruction . . . the northern religious forces that supported the anti-slavery cause favoured efforts to secure the rights of the freed. . . . Blacks played some important roles in the governments of southern states during the time of Federal occupation and Republican rule. . . . In their determination to end northern influence and Black participation in their state governments, some southern Whites resorted to such terroristic secret societies as the Ku Klux Klan to keep Blacks and other opponents from the polls. Then as northern interest in the plight of the former slaves faded, the Reconstruction governments came to an end and victory of White supremacy in the South was assured. The great bulk of the four million freed

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[68] Handy, History of the Churches, p. 269.

persons suffered economic discrimination whether they turned to agriculture or to industry.[69]

The collapse of Reconstruction and the readvent of White supremacy led to the increasing importance of the Black Church. Handy says, ". . . as political hopes faded with the end of Reconstruction and patterns of oppression persisted, the Church became the chief arena for the exercise of Black leadership."[70] The Black Pastor and Black Christians had gone through much together. Their prophetic posture was momentarily silenced. Time would prove that their survival would remain linked. Looking back on the period after the turn of the century, Dubois wrote:

> The Negro Church is the only social institution of the Negroes which started in the African forest and survived slavery; under the leadership of priest or medicine man, afterward of the Christian pastor, the Church preserved in itself the remnants of African tribal life and became after emancipation the center of Negro social life. So that today the Negro population of the United States is virtually divided into church congregations which are the real units of race life.[71]

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., p. 271. See C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (Rev. ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 18 f. The era of Jim Crow segregation was born. "They were either excluded from railway cars, omnibuses, stagecoaches, and steamboats or assigned to special "Jim Crow" sections; they sat, when permitted, in secluded and remote corners of theaters and lecture halls; they could not enter most hotels, restaurants, and resorts, except as servants; they prayed in "Negro pews" in the White churches and if partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they waited until the Whites had been served the bread and wine. Moreover, they were often educated in segregated schools, punished in segregated prisons, nursed in segregated hospitals, and buried in segregated cemeteries."

[71] W. E. B. Dubois, The Negro Church (Atlanta, Ga.: Atlanta University Press, 1903). See inside of title page.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BLACK CHURCH

Socialized, Gradualistic, and Accommodationist

After the acrid disillusionment of Reconstruction, and the tyranny of White supremacy, several trends suggest that the Black Churches (Methodists and Baptists) retroversed. Members were denied access to privileges in the wider society, and found them in their churches. In order to deal with a closed society, Black Churches took on the appearance of social welfare agencies. Woodson said this was true of large institutional churches like Harlem's Mount Olivet Baptist Church. "With the support of such a large number this church took to supply the needs of the community by developing into an institutional enterprise with all of the activities of a social welfare agency."[72] Another example was Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church. This church was effective in confronting poverty, picketing for jobs, and working with youth.

The social ministries of churches like Olivet and Abyssinian anticipated the Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenbusch. Rauschenbusch certainly did not have Black Christians in mind, but Black ministers appropriated the Social Gospel. According to Wilmore, "The Social Gospel had invaded a sector of the White church between the wars and found favor among educated Black preachers who believed that the first responsibility of the church was a ministry of social service to the changing Negro community."[73]

Robert T. Handy was reminded of the emotional overtones and touchiness involved in White Christians concerning applying their intellectual pursuits to Blacks. White proponents of the Social Gospel were unwilling to address the needs of Black Christians. Handy said: "In the flood of literature emanating from Social Gospel and cooperative Christian sources there was relatively little reference to Negro life, problems, and religion."[74] Handy is also aware of the tremendous social and historical meaning of the Black Church for Black Christians. "It has been widely observed that the Black Churches served much more important roles in the life of their people than was true for the White."[75] While White Christians were trying to utilize the Social Gospel, and later were enraptured in the Fundamentalist and Liberalist controversy, Blacks were trying to survive. Socially, the Black Church increasingly became a survival institution.

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[72] Woodson, p. 223.

[73] Wilmore, p. 220.

Mays and Nicholson underscore the social importance of the Black Church and the compensatory psychological benefits Black Christians derived. "Thus not finding the opportunity that is given to members of other racial groups in civic and political life, in business enterprises and social agencies, the Negro through the years has turned to the church for self-expression, recognition and leadership."[76] Thus the Black Church became the bulwark for wider development of the Black community.

Fraternal organizations, social clubs, and businesses like the first Black insurance companies were indebted to the Black Church for their inception and initial numerical and financial support. The Black Church was the one institution the Black community had which had been influenced by the gradualistic philosophy of Booker T. Washington. At the time, Washington was the dominant spokesman for Blacks. He gained wide acceptance in the White community for his "go slow" p policy on racial matters.

While the early twentieth century Black Churches became accommodationist as a result of Washington's philosophy of gradualism, in marked distinction to its posture during the pre-Civil War period. It must be credited with modifying a harsh system and keeping Blacks from being exterminated. A violent mood of the times existed.[77] Although deradicalization occurred, this was a period of rapid numerical growth for the Black Church. Politically, the Black Church was forced to turn inward. This sequence of events caused the Black Church to decline in its prophetic role and become locked into the Sunday morning worship impact. Restriction in other areas of American life magnified the importance of the Black Church. The national Black Church conventions and connections became unrestricted arenas for personal power, advancement, and self-esteem. A case in point was the Black Baptist.

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[74] Handy, "Negro Christianity," pp. 91-112.

[75] Ibid., pp. 174-175. See Handy, A History of the Churches, p. 280; also, Handy, A Christian America. Cr. "The Black Churches . . . their concerns were focused heavily on the needs of their segregated people, many of whom were finding in Christianity a sense of worth and direction, and spiritual resources for a hard struggle."

[76] Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, Negro Church (New York: Russell & Russell, 1933), p. 281.

A group of ministers following R. S. Boyd left the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc., causing the first major split nationally among Black Baptists. Later they organized the National Baptist Convention of America, and became known as "the Boyd Baptists." Behind this schism were powerful psychological factors of personal power, political advancement, and self-esteem. Professor Hudson reflects on the fact that the social forces of a segregated society forced the Black Church to retroverse.

> As the result of the social forces to which the Negro population was subjected, a separate Negro world had been created in America; and the Negro church was partly the product of this segregated society with a distinctive life of its own. The worship was highly emotional, featuring a variety of liturgical innovations designed to encourage group participation. The theology was characterized by a strong otherworldly emphasis. The congregational singing was deeply moving, and both the emotional pitch of the services and their eschatological focus found expression in the "spirituals" which have been called the most original and enduring contribution of the Negro church.[78]

Hudson continues:

> With most avenues of social expression cut off and with the ministry one of the few professions open to the Negro, the church

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[77] See Wilmore, pp. 187-277 for his discussion of Washingtonism.

[78] Hudson, p. 351. Cf. Woodson, History of the Negro Church, p. 273.

> assumed an importance that has seldom been duplicated among other groups. Since there was little opportunity elsewhere for a Negro to gain recognition and to exercise authority, there often was a scramble for leadership and a tendency for the churches to become personal fiefs of the pastor.[79]

The accommodationist posture of the Churches brought to the forefront of the struggle the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League (NUL). Although these Civil Rights groups did not tolerate the slow pace of events, they cannot be understood from the fact that their efforts were born in the churches. They picked up the prophetic role born in the churches. Their efforts were successful due to the creative leadership and speaking abilities of gifted Black preachers like Reverly Ransom. Dubois' Niagara movement and the new Black Bourgeoisie were limited, except in a literary sense, because they lacked support from the churches.

Pentecostalism, Cults, and Sects

Many Blacks who migrated to the Northern urban centers during the thirties and forties sought the intimate church fellowship they knew back South. In the large institutional churches, they were disillusioned by materialistically oriented Black ministers and their large edifices. These churches did not provide the shepherding that these Black Christians needed in the lonely big cities. They wanted a warmer and more homely type of church, whose style was spirited and uninhibited.

Then commenced the storefront phenomenon in the urban ghettos. The storefront was a Southern transplant, a recreation of the type of church they knew "back home."[80] It was a church where they could feel comfortable, share a close fellowship with relatives and friends, but where the pastor knew their name and cared about each person. Many of the storefronts prospered. Some developed into large established churches.

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[79] Hudson, p. 351. [80] Frazier, p. 53.

Usually led by unlettered preachers who based their self-proclaimed ministries on God's divine call, the storefronts spread rapidly throughout major urban centers in the country. Typical of the storefront churches, particularly the Pentecostal variety, were attempts to restore a purer form of Christianity. The Pentecostal movement, born in the storefronts, stressed sanctification of their members. Ecstatic worship, getting happy and shouting were common features. Possession and high-powered emotionalism provided a psychological catharsis and healing. Fauset has listed the following groups that originated in storefronts and flourished:

Faith Healing
Holiness
Islamic
Pentecostal
Spiritualist[81]

The theory behind these branches from the mainline Black Churches was that the latter did not meet the spiritual needs of migrating Blacks. The devastating impact of urbanization on the Black family completely countered their traditional way of life. Another factor was that certain cults and sects came into existence during the Great Depression. They capitalized on the already perilous plight of poor and illiterate Blacks. Made up largely of the economically deprived, the sects could reach people the institutional churches did not. During the first three decades of the twentieth century the following emerged:

Mt. Sinai Holy Church of America, Inc.
United House of Prayer for All People
Church of God (Black Jews)
Moorish Science Temple of America
Father Divine Peace Mission Movement[82]

Synonymous with the cults and sects were the charismatic leaders--Bishop Ida Robinson, Father Divine, Elder Lightfoot, Solomon

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[81] Arthur Huff Fauset, Black Gods of the Metropolis (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), p. 9.

[82] Ibid.

Michaux, Mother Artimus Horne, Daddy Grace, Prophet Cherry, Noble Drew Ali, and King Narcissus. These leaders were inspired by the national Pentecostal movement that started with the Seymour revival in Los Angeles and swept the country and spread to Africa. Handy says:

> In the early twentieth century the modern Pentecostal movement erupted. A number of its early leaders had been active in Holiness churches; conservative Biblicism, expectancy of Christ's imminent return, strict moral emphasis, and interest in faith-healing marked both movements. But the distinctive Pentacostal doctrine--emphasis on the descent of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by *glossolalia,* the speaking in tongues, quickly set the new development apart, and it in turn proliferated into a range of new denominations.[83]

Like the early independent church movement, which was a matter of survival in an alien and hostile environment, the precarious existence of Blacks in the first quarter of this century led them to join these groups which offered salvation and healing. These groups spoke to the precarious existence of Blacks. Wilmore puts this phenomenon into perspective:

> As the economic and psychological pressures of the Depression and the brutality of racism drove Negroes deeper within themselves for spiritual resources with which to survive, movements like Father Divine's Peace Mission, Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, the Black Jews, and various expressions of Drew Ali's Moorish Americans began to challenge the Black Churches. . . .[84]

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[83] Handy, History of the Churches, p. 298.

[84] Wilmore, p. 220. See Handy, History of the Churches, p. 387. Cf. "The churches of the Negro people continued to play a very important role in these difficult years, offering resources of strength for those who were often 'last hired and first fired,' and serving as centers for the life of neighbourhoods and communities. Most of the larger denominations had some Black members, customarily gathered in separate congregations. The great bulk of Black Christians continued to be in their own Baptist and Methodist denominations, which were hard pressed in accommodating to the great migration to the cities."

Joseph R. Washington, Jr., writes about the mental health value of the cults and sects in responding to critics who suggested that the high-powered religious experience of these groups produced mental illness. Washington says: "The truth is, these Holiness types are under so much oppression in the midst of so much obvious affluence until what is generally assumed to produce emotional stress really produces emotional power, which really guarantees mental health in an unhealthy society."[85] Washington, aware of the impact of the cults and sects on the personalities of the members, concludes that the cults were basically psychological relief stations, where frustrations were temporarily vented. He says, they "exist for the individual's purely private desire for ecstatic experience, salvation, and relief from mental and physical ills through healing."[86] His view fails to recognize that the cults, like the independent churches, held tremendous social and existential meaning for their members and a sense of family kinship.

It is understandable why many Blacks were attracted to the cults and sects. Why they wanted healing is clear considering the daily pressures of an economically insecure way of life and their own domestic turmoil. The cult leader who could heal would easily draw the masses. Washington says, ". . . the sole criterion for religion among the Black masses was its effectiveness in solving their dilemmas. It did not matter in the least what a religion taught or what the leader believed, so long as he or she demonstrated practical ability. If a man could heal one person or tell a fortune with accuracy, his reputation was made. . . ."[87]

The cults and sects helped the disinherited to survive and gave them hope for a better day. In this sense, the good they achieved was comparable to the mainline Black Churches. What Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., and C. T. Walker were able to accomplish for the social and spiritual well-being of their flocks, Daddy **Grace** and Father Divine certainly equaled in their respective contexts. The Pentecostal movement received impetus from the great immigration of Blacks moving from the South to the major urban and industrial centers of the nation. Handy says: "Black Pentecostal congregations and denominations appeared in the North in increasing numbers as migration from the South was greatly accelerated during World War I."[88] The result was marked changes in the historic Black Churches. Hudson puts the sequence of events into perspective.

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[85] Joseph R. Washington, Jr., Black Sects and Cults (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1973), p. 71. See Handy, A History of the Churches, p. 298: "The freedom, informality, excitement, healings and glosslalia of the Pentecostal services brought joy and assurance to many who took part in them.

[86] Washington, Black Sects and Cults, p. 101.

[87] Ibid.

> The large-scale movement of the Negro population into the major industrial centers of the nation, which began during World War I and continued thereafter at a steadily mounting tempo, introduced marked changes into Negro church life. Many of the urban churches became much more formal and restrained. The emotionalism of earlier days declined, "spirituals" were sung less frequently, the itinerant evangelist was less prominent, and preaching gave less emphasis to other worldly aspects of the faith. Attention was increasingly devoted to advancing the interests of the Negro through practical action.[89]

The Contemporary Black Church and Beyond

The basic weakness of the contemporary Black Church was no outside contact. Black preachers primarily benefitted from this arrangement, whose pastoral energies were largely centered in the Sunday morning worship impact. The members reinforced this arrangement. Critics accused the preacher and the people of having formed a private social club.[90] The Black Church was mainly self-serving and irrelevant to the real needs of its members and the wider Black community.

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[88] Handy, A History of the Churches, p. 299. [89] Hudson, p. 352.

[90] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Vol. II (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), p. 870. Myrdal apparently accepted the compensatory theory of Mays and Nicholson in his brief treatment of the Negro Church, which, he concluded, served basically an otherworldly function. It was

Black Church historians and sociologists have been particularly critical of the Black preacher. The views of the new Black intellectuals and the rising middle class leaving the mainline denominations and joining the Catholic, Episcopal, Christian Science, and Congregational churches have echoed their views. Blacks who joined these groups were under the illusion of White acceptance and upward social mobility in the American mainstream of life. Wilmore criticizes the deradicalization of the Black church into a mere social club. "Attacked by the 'nigger' on the block, who had abandoned the too-unjust God of White Christianity, and by the educated class of New Negroes, who imagined themselves superior to preachers and too sophisticated for religion, many Black ministers retreated to what they knew best--preaching and raising money."[91]

The traditional Black Church increasingly lost many members who were able to move into the mainstream of American affluence. The Black Church also lost the respect of the fellow on the street, who had nothing but the clothes on his back. The Black Church found it difficult to challenge the secular claim on the former and the devastation of urban life on the latter. The traditional Black Churches found it difficult to keep the affluent Black and to reach the grass roots Black. There were charges of being too worldly. An example is the rise of commercial Gospel music. The commercialized music of the Gospel singers was evidence of the Black Church's attempt to assimilate the secular along with the spiritual.[92]

The contemporary Black Church to the time of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights movement of the fifties and early sixties, lost its integrity in dealing with the real needs of Blacks. The pressure of the Black Muslims was also telling in addressing the real needs

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his belief, as was the case later on with E. Franklin Frazier and Joseph R. Washington, Jr., that the Black Church had made no significant contributions and/or innovations in theology, etc.

[91] Wilmore, p. 226.

[92] Frazier, pp. 72-73.

of Blacks and rejecting "Negro" in favor of "Black." Handy says: "Muslim growth pointed to a forthcoming repudiation of 'Negro' and widespread adoption of 'Black' as the proper term of identification."[93] These needs had not changed--economic stability, social equality, and political injustice still existed. King gave the Black Church respectability, which it had not known socially and politically since Reconstruction. It was an attempt to regain the prophetic role of the Black Pastor and church.

King and others reversed the trend of deradicalism, founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and was a key figure in the birth of the Progressive National Baptist Convention. King, along with a group of progressive-minded ministers, thought the Black Church should put more of its energies and resources into fighting for Civil Rights. This caused the second major split in the history of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. The parent body's moderate position on Civil Rights, and a personality squabble over the office of President, led to the schism.

The young militants of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, who worked with King and S.C.L.C. would later cause an ideological split in the Civil Rights movement around the Black power issue. This was followed by King's untimely death. His death followed the assassinations of Medgar Evers, John F. Kennedy, and Malcolm X, and the bombing of a Baptist Church where three children were killed during Sunday School. Further, mass urban riots compounded the problem. The "White backlash" and Nixon and Agnew's "Silent Majority" were a tacit warning that White America wanted "law and order" and Blacks back in their place.

Protests came from Black clergymen in White denominations, who were forced to reexamine their identities and commitments. Those in historic Black denominations and connections laughed at these "niggers" who had left them for the White church. Nonetheless, the National

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[93] Handy, A History of the Churches, p. 403.

Committee for Black Churchmen was born. This body attempted to confront the racist structures in American society through their White affiliated church systems and structures. The Black caucus phenomenon resulted in White churches and seminaries. The net result was a reexamination of the historic role of the Black Church in the liberation of Black Christians.

The primary efforts came in the field of theology. Hudson says: "Negro theologians became 'Black' theologians in the 1960's. There was a shift toward Blackness--Black Pride, Black Religion, Black Theology, Black Church, Black Liberation."[94] Black theology moved in several directions: liberation, Black power, reconciliation and redemption. This launched a period of intense research into the experience of Black Christians from the African captivity to the present. Unfortunately, most of this research has been locked into the prison of White academic "respectability." Black Church scholars, by and large, have not addressed the needs of the Black Pastor, who shepherds the masses of Black Christians. Cecil W. Cone spoke of the "identity crisis in Black Theology during the mid-nineteen seventies."[95]

The real crisis was not on the mountain but in the valley. The real crisis was where the Black Pastor and Black Christians labored. The liberation process will not be completed in the classroom but on the battlefield of life. In understanding the Black Church experience and Black Christians, the Black Christian Pastor should remember the words of William B. McClain: "The genius of the Black Church is that it has brought a people through the torture chamber of the past two centuries. It has sustained Black people throughout the history of the Black man in this nation. . . ."[96] The Black Pastor should also remember what the Black Church means for personal worth. What Mays and Nicholson said decades ago still applies at the dawn of the nineteen eighties:

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[94] Hudson, p. 4336. Cf. A. Roger Williams, "A Black Pastor looks at Black Theology," Harvard Theological Review, 64 (1971).

[95] Cecil Wayne Cone, The Identity Crisis in Black Theology (Nashville: AMEC, 1975), pp. 15 25. This is an excellent critique and synopsis of the theological positions of the major Black theologians in examining the points of tension in their theologies. Cecil Cone is particularly sensitive to the problems of using the Black Power motif for Black Theology, the reliance on White theological methods for the sake of achieving respectability, and not letting the sources of the Black religious traditions speak for themselves without imposing alien forms on them. See the recent book by Guyraud S. Wilmore and James H. Cone, eds., Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966-1979 (New York: Orbis Books, 1979). This volume focuses on Black theology in relation to Black Power, an attack on White religion, response of White theologians, the Black Church, Black women, and third world theologies.

> The opportunity found in the Negro church to be recognized, and to be "somebody," has stimulated the pride and preserved the self-respect of many Negroes who would have been entirely beaten by life, and possibly completely submerged. Everyone wants to receive recognition and feel that he is appreciated. The Negro church has supplied this need.[97]

SUMMARY

The historical and social evolution of the Black Church reveals how the Black Pastor and Black Christians developed a system of care to meet individual and the wider needs of the race.

The slave experience cannot be understood apart from the practice of plantation religion and its role in maintaining the sanity of Blacks. In this process, African religion and Christianity merged. The merger of these great religious traditions figured strongly in the religious nature of the slave resistance movement. The role played by slavemasters and missionaries was negative and positive; they used religion to bring Black slaves into compliance with the plantation system, but inadvertently planted the seeds for freedom and liberation. The Black Church was born in the "night meetings" of the Invisible

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[96] Reuben A. Shearer, II, "Beyond White Theology," Christianity and Crisis, 30 (November 1970), 252.

[97] Mays and Nicholson, p. 281. Cf. Richard I. McKinney, "The Black Church," Harvard Theological Review, 64 (1971).

Institution, which was crucial to group solidarity and communal life. The key figure in this religio-cultural development was the slave preacher. He preached, he taught, He healed. He was priest and prophet in liberating Black slaves from a cruel system.

The pre-Civil War period was marked by the work of the underground Black Church in the plantation South and its connection with the work of quasi-free Black Christians in White churches in the North.

The proselyting efforts of Baptists and Methodists proved to be more successful than other Christian groups, because of the freedom of the independents and their emotional style and Bible-centered evangelical fervor. Blacks in the North eventually formed their own churches through mutual aid societies after leaving the White churches for their inhospitable treatment and lack of pastoral care for the needs of Black Christians. These churches played a significant part in caring for the needs of Black Christians during a mass state of disenfranchisement immediately following the War. Black Pastors led the way as Blacks moved into the Reconstruction period, which produced the Black College movement to educate the masses of illiterate slaves, and which produced many prophetically oriented preacher-politicians. With the collapse of Reconstruction, the return of White supremacy, an era of violence against Blacks ensued.

The twentieth century Black Church experience is one of having been silenced in its radical posture against White oppression but regaining that posture through the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., and others.

Due to the violent nature of the times, a society closed to Blacks, the Black Church became the center of social as well as religious life. It was also infected by the philosophy of gradualism and the accommodationist posture of Booker T. Washington. The result was the birth of several Civil Rights organizations to resume the prophetic role of the Black Church. The Great Depression of the thirties followed and mass migrations of Blacks from the South to major urban centers of the country. This sequence of events was directly related to the pentecostal movement which began in the first quarter of the century and provided the impetus for the rise of cults and sects through the storefront phenomenon. This was an attempt to regain the informal, uninhibited, and close-knit church life experienced in the South. The institutional Black Churches (Methodists and Baptists) retreated more and more into themselves and focused primarily on the Sunday morning impart between the Black pew and the Black pastor in the pulpit. The institutional Black Churches came under heavy attack for irrelevance to the social, political, and economic needs of Blacks. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the advent of the Civil Rights movement restored the prophetic role of the Black Church. The contemporary Black Church and what transpired after his assassination owe much to Martin Luther King, Jr., and an emerging group of Black Church scholars who sought to recapture the spirit of the pre-Civil War Black Church, initiating a decade of intense research into the meaning of the Black religious experience.

The foregoing speaks loudly to the projected model. The Black Pastor needs to reexamine the role of the slave preacher and the powerful pre-Civil War Black Church. The slave preacher was the first shepherd of Black Christians. In him they had a preacher, teacher, and healer who fulfilled the role of priest and prophet. The Black Church was not timid, and fought for freedom and liberation. This has always been an on-going process which some have called the Black Revolution, and must continue so long as Blacks are forced to accept the status quo of White society.

Chapter 3

A PSYCHOSOCIAL OVERVIEW OF BLACK PEOPLE

An understanding of the psychological and social pilgrimage of Black people is essential for developing a model of ministry integral to the work of the Black Pastor. The contemporary Black Pastor must know the interpersonal, individual, and group struggles of Black people. The Black Pastor must identify with what it means to suffer and struggle for Black personhood. The Black Pastor must be cognizant of the fact that "Blackness" was the dynamic factor in shaping the reality of the people brought to this continent from Africa. The Black Pastor must not only know but be able to minister to the deep hurt Blacks incurred "from slavery to freedom" and the unconscious scars which remain from oppression before and afterwards.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLANTATION RELATIONS

Shaping the Slave's Personality

The European white man's attitude toward African slaves was that they were property and not people. The African slaves were reduced to "a body" and a "thing." They were exploited for reasons of personal gratification: they became objects of all sorts of self-rationalizations about white superiority for those who wanted to conquer a seemingly endless frontier for themselves and their heirs. The European man "dehumanized his slave, made him quantifiable, and thereby absorbed him into a rising world market of productive exchange."[1] When African slaves became property, the history of America's development acquired a stale odor.

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[1] Joel Kovel, White Racism: A Psychohistory (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 18.

The American slaveholder's ultimate desire was to control land and humans, but on the other hand to be ethically and mentally free of any restraints. This allowed the slaveholder to "proceed in his quest for the guilt-free realization of his illimitable desires."[2] The slaveholders excused themselves by projecting an animal status upon African slaves, to the extent of blaming the victims for their chattel condition.

The slaves were victims of a cultural revolution. The social and political currents of tension in Europe made many look toward the bright horizon beyond the Atlantic. The Western White man had a god-complex and dreams of a future which knew no bounds. In order to obtain this future, it was mandatory that the African be domesticated for utilitarian purposes in the New World. Kovel, in psychoanalytic perspective, says Blacks were victims of the "cultural superego, whose forward drive toward material productivity led to the golden age of entrepreneurial capitalism."[3] The slave's status was defined to accommodate a rising bourgeois culture in the American South. Plantation capitalism was erected on a slave-centered economy.

The psychology of plantation relations was based on the idea that any means necessary could be employed to keep African slaves in a subservient role and to maintain a dehumanized concept of them. American slavery gave rise to what Kovel calls "dominative racism." The psychohistory of American slave society was one of abstractification. This was ironic. The close proximity and intimacy in which Whites and Blacks lived, particularly in the South, made the arrangement impossible.

The "close proximity and intimacy" in which Whites and Blacks lived in the South was formative in shaping the slave's personality on American soil. According to Rawick, "We must conceive of the slave personality as an ambivalent one. On the one hand are submissiveness and a sense that one deserves to be a slave; on the other hand is a great deal of anger in ways that protect the personality and have objective results in the improvement of the slave's situation and eventual liberation, at least from chattel slavery."[4] The predominant slave personality was not Elkin's "Sambo" type, common to Southern folklore and wishful thinking.

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[2] Ibid., p. 187.

[3] Ibid., p. 206. Kovel is obviously influenced by the socioeconomic interpretation of Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution (New York: Vintage Books, 1956). See Chapter III, "A Troublesome Property," and also Stanley Elkin, Slavery (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1963), pp. 37-80.

Blassingame describes three personalities on the plantation. These slave personality types evolved against behavior norms that were defined by interaction between "high and low powered individuals" or "Objects" and "Subjects." These personality types were instrumental in the slave's communal resistance movement. The indifferent, passive, reticent personality was "Jack." The incorrigible, insurrectionist, violent personality was "Nat." Of course, the pliable, docile, devoted personality was "Sambo." The latter was the preferred type on the plantation.[5] Blassingame adds: "The slave did not necessarily act the way the white people expected him to behave or the way they perceived him as behaving."[6]

The slaves were taught by the masters that they were the progenitors and carriers of everything that was humanly undesirable. This was why they were, according to Kovel, ascribed "sham characteristics," which were "attributed to an individual from the point of view of other people.[7] The slaves had to endure chronic insults and accept attributes ascribed to them that always meant that they were less than a man or a woman. "Sham characteristics" were used as a method of control. Still it was difficult for the slaveholders to totally dominate the slaves, who fought their masters at every opportunity. Slave resistance was the work of the underground black community that existed between slaves and freedmen. This was crucial to their mental health. Rawick points out: "In a long social process the slaves developed an independent community and culture which molded the slave personality. This social personality was kept whole by the day-to-day and night-to-night life of the slave quarters."[8]

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[4] George P. Rawick, The American Slave (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), p. 95. Cf. Elkin, pp. 81-88. Elkin based his much acclaimed book on the Sambo personality type.

[5] John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 132 f.

[6] Rawick, p. 100.

[7] Blassingame, p. 135.

Communal resistance, plots and rebellions, kept the slaveholders in a state of fear and on guard constantly. Master and slave suffered from paranoia. The Fugitive Slave Act and the termination of the Civil War may have been forced by slaves as much as by abolitionists. Drastic steps were taken to insure the security of the slaveholders when scattered slave revolts occurred. Slave revolts led by men like Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vessey, and Nat Turner heightened their slaveholders' fears. What Genovese calls "standing up to the man" was a daily struggle. It included arson, poisoning the master, and outright murder.

> Many of the slaves who committed these murders had records as "good Negroes"--as men and women who seemed to accept their condition, do their work, and follow orders. Such outbursts puzzled and distressed the whites who knew them. These slaves represented most clearly the internalization of paternalistic norms, according to which masters and slaves--or more properly from the slaves' point of view, lords and dependents--had specific rights and duties toward each other. In other words, the plantations contained many slaves who gave subservient roles but who nonetheless did not surrender their will or their honor--who stayed in place so long as their expectations did not suffer a severe jolt and so long as they did not feel betrayed.[9]

The master-slave relationship was based on a "role psychology" designed to get the Blacks to internalize the interests and values of the plantation system. Roles were clearly defined between superordinates and subordinates. The slavemasters assigned all role definitions.

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[8] Rawick, p. 97.

[9] Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), p. 617.

These role definitions were brutally executed by slavemasters or their overseers. The overseer was an extension of the master's ego demands to brong the slave into complete physical and mental subjection. Blassingame says:

> Planters and overseers defined the role of the slave in very explicit terms. The institutionally defined role of the slave required him to identify with his master's interest, to be healthy, clean, humble, honest, sober, respectful, trustworthy, and hard-working. This was the kind of slave the master wanted: a laborer who identified so closely with his master's interest that he would repair a broken fence rail without being ordered to do so.[10]

As the master found out, coercion did not always work. How a slave behaved said much more about the way he was treated by his master, since "the slaves did not internalize the roles and automatically submit unconditionally."[11] In most instances, humane treatment by the master improved the slave's productivity.

When the slave succumbed to the master, it was not because he or she was some submissive, infantile, and docile Sambo. Reasons varied depending on the nature of survival. The lash was used vicariously from one plantation to another to force slaves into a compliance with the plantation system and to keep them in a chronic state of fear. Blassingame says: "The lash, frequently applied, often drained every ounce of manhood, of resistance, of self-respect, and of independence from the slave."[12] The slaves did not accept biblical and eventually scientific preachments about their innate inferiority. They found no grounds for rejecting their blackness and accepting white supremacy, but gave the appearance of acceptance when beaten into submission. Ritualistic deference to whites meant survival.

Many slaves played the role of the fool to show whites that they disdained any personal ambitions or schemes for freedom. Underneath was a deep hatred for whites and repressed anger. Although misplaced aggression toward each other was a reality of everyday life, the slaves managed to develop a code of trust among themselves which created group solidarity in the quarters, enabling them to unite in their struggle against the master. A dynamic factor in the slaves' communal resistance and in shaping their personalities was religion.

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[10] Blassingame, p. 148. [11] Ibid., p. 149. [12] Ibid., p. 196.

> One of the primary reasons the slaves were able to survive the cruelty they faced was that their behavior was not totally dependent on their masters. The slave had many other references for self-esteem. In religion, a slave exercised his own independence of conscience. . . . In short religion helped him to preserve his mental health.[13]

Typical of the slaves' attempt to protect their self-esteem when communal resistance was frustrated or a plot failed was resorting to such tactics as faking an illness, trying to get out of work, or at least frustrating matters by destroying tools and stealing. Ironically, many slavemasters relied on the loyalty of their slaves against outside invaders who threatened the plantation premises. In this ambivalent and demeaning context, the slave's personality was shaped. Rawick says: "The slave personality is an example of the 'highest of the high and the lowest of the low' syndrome. . . . It produces social greatness as well as social incompetence."[14]

Plantation Stereotypes and Race Fantasies

Sambo was the plantation personality type generally acceptable during slavery. Sambo was less threatening to slaveowners' egos and suited White race fantasies about the intrinsic value of whiteness over blackness. Interpersonal relationships were governed by the master's perceptions of the slave as Sambo. Behind Sambo was a repertoire of negative attitudes and beliefs about Blacks, ascribed to their African heritage. Blassingame says: "Most antebellum whites firmly believed that Africans were ignoble savages who were innately barbaric, imitative, passive, cheerful, childish, lazy, cowardly, superstitious, polygamous, submissive, immoral, and stupid."[15] Whites felt these were the "natural" traits of Blacks, deeply ingrained and immutable. A slave was a slave, a nigger was a nigger, and could not be anything else.

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[13] Ibid., p. 206.

[14] Rawick, p. 101. Cf. Elkin, pp. 115-132, where he uses the Freudian concept of infantilism, H. S. Sullivan's interpersonal theory, and role psychology to interpret the slave personality.

Sambo was useful in maintaining an abject status on the exploited but unwanted African. The Sambo stereotype helped to allay the fears and race fantasies of Whites, who increasingly refused to recognize the slave as human. Sambo was the "civilized" version of the African savage, but considered by others "a brute of nature." This brute was a subspecies of Hamitic origins, lacking in any human feelings. Fredrickson writes: "The supposed animal insensitivity of the Negro was also invoked as a basis for denying familial affection among slaves and thereby implicitly justifying the breakup of families."[16] Worst was the fact that eventually the alleged African bestiality became justification for lynching Blacks.

Ambiguity prevailed in the psychology of plantation relations, and the evolution of the Mulatto emphasizes this. Even though they they were of mixed blood, the Mulatto was depicted as the epitomy of the African brute. Africa was seen as a land of licentiousness. In the minds of Whites, this accounted for the fact that Blacks were susceptible to "sexual madness." This belief was popularized in literature. The "Negro as a beast" was a raper of White women. The Black rapist was uppermost in the minds of many Southern Whites around the turn of the century, creating what Fredrickson calls "Southern Negrophobia."[17]

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[15] Blassingame, p. 136. Cf. Beth Day, Sexual Life Betweel Blacks and Whites (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1974), p. 36 f. "The beast mythology was a rationale developed by the apologists for the slave system, for religious and political reasons. A man could not be a good Christian and a good citizen of a democracy and hold a fellow man in bondage. Therefore the racist rationale was developed that slaves were not men after all. They were only things."

[16] George M. Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 57 f. This author exposes the popular notions concerning the character and destiny of Blacks during the period 1817-1914, and how this was related to the emerging "American Way of Life."

On the other hand, some quarters of society romanticized the idea of the Negro as a child. This childlike quality was coupled with the idea that the Negro was a natural Christian, inclined toward evangelical religion. The works of antislavery novelists like Harriet Beecher Stowe, who penned Uncle Tom's Cabin, brought this to the attention of the American public. Her book pictured the Negro as a mild, pliable, humble Christian.

Whites remained afraid of the African savage they considered a brute and personified by the Nat stereotype. Nat haunted the race fantasies of Whites for generations. Blassingame adds: "Whites considered Black slaves dangerous, insubordinate, bold, evil, restless, turbulent, vengeful, barbarous, and malicious. The White man's fear and his anxiety about the slave was so deep and pervasive that it was sometimes pathological."[18] As a result, many White slaveholders greatly suffered from slave paranoia. "The more fear whites had of Nat, the more firmly they tried to believe in Sambo in order to escape paranoia."[19]

The slaveholders took various measures to mitigate their fears of Nat. "The planters tried to reduce the anxiety produced by the incongruency between the Sambo and Nat stereotypes by pushing Nat deep into his subconscious."[20] Blassingame points out that "antebellum whites apparently focused on two extreme forms of slave behavior--childlike docility and rebellion--in formulating the Nat and Sambo stereotypes."[21] This indicates why interpersonal relationships between master and slave were always strained. Their reciprocal fantasies compounded the problems.

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[17] Ibid., p. 275 f.

[18] Blassingame, p. 140.

[19] Ibid., p. 141.

[20] Ibid., p. 142.

[21] Ibid., p. 143.

At every point "the plantation was a battle field where slaves fought masters for physical and psychological survival."[22] The race fantasies of Whites toward Blacks even had a theological aura. Black people represented the Western construct of the devil. Kovel, quoting the Oxford English Dictionary, points out what blackness symbolized before the sixteenth century for European Whites:

> "Deeply stained with dirt; soiled, dirty, foul. . . . Having dark or deadly purposes, malignant; pertaining to or involving death, deadly; baneful, disastrous, sinister, foul, iniquitous, atrocious, horrible, wicked . . . indicating disgrace, censure, liability to punishment, etc." Whatever objects the human could conceptualize as bad the abstract ideal of badness itself, became coordinated with blackness.[23]

Europeans, upon encountering Blacks of African descent, were mentally and visually shocked at their differences. They were black, naked, and ugly! The "fantasy of blackness" became associated with ancient curses. The blackness of Africans became a particularly acute problem in the psychology of plantation relations. It was amplified in black-white relations involving sexual intermixture. Blackness was equated with the "fantasy of dirt." It was all Whites could do to keep their race from being stained. Racial hangups about "mongrelization" were problematic everywhere. According to Kovel, Whites believed that "the Negro's blood shared in the general filthiness illustrated by his skin, and that this same 'blood' would be directly transmitted through the generations should intermarriage occur."[24]

Plantation stereotypes and race fantasies were problematic because they were not grounded in reality. They were the products of two groups who stood diametrically opposed to each other. They complicated the master-slave relationship, only deepening the schism already established between them. The master did not see the slave as human, and neither did the slave see the master as human. The masters had to play the role of something they were not, and the slaves had to do the same. Their words, actions, and feelings defied each other. One degraded the other. The other hated the degrader. One was superior and the other inferior. The culture of the superior was given god-like qualities, while the culture of the inferior was looked upon as "dirt."

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[22] Ibid., p. 184. [23] Kovel, p. 62. [24] Ibid., p. 86.

Plantation stereotypes and race fantasies meant that at no time could Black slaves have a healthy self esteem. They were forced to see themselves as degraded animals and as not having any feelings. Black slaves never accepted the stereotypes ascribed to them, and they were not responsible for White fantasies. They were very realistic. Their predicament allowed them resistance, but with extreme limitations and always the possibility of betrayal and death.

Plantation stereotypes and race fantasies projected onto Black slaves created complex problems for them in their interpersonal relations with each other. This was also true of the intrapersonal turmoil Black slaves suffered in their guts. The psychology of plantation relations created the slavemaster syndrome. Black slaves were taught by the slavemaster to do everything possible to keep each other in a state of slavery. The stereotypes and fantasies reinforced this situation. A "good nigger" would tell on a "bad nigger" to please the master and to receive the master's reward.

Plantation stereotypes and race fantasies were symbolic of how Black slaves had been stripped of their names. The African's name and family ties were religiously significant. To be stripped of one's name was to die and be lost forever. Many slaves openly accepted the name the slavemaster gave them, after being beaten into submission, but in their quarters held onto their African names. This was crucial to their mental health. A name meant an extension of one's being in space and time.

Black slaves carried in their hearts the identity of their African past and a prayerful hope that their spirits would return to the African motherland. Their religion gave them this hope. While they did not openly resent the stereotypes applied to them, except when provoked to the point of inner explosion, against great odds they maintained through their communal resistance movement a sense of "somebodiness."

Miscegenation and Sexual Exploitations

African slaves were dubbed psychologically unsuited for the New World. Slavery gave Blacks the status of "itness." Wherever they went in American society, they were degraded because of their black bodies. Whites expressed hatred, even rage against the black body. This was why miscegenation was a potent and explosive problem in plantation relations. Many were shocked when some authorities advocated the desirability of miscegenation as good for both races. It was postulated that it would improve the Black race intellectually and teach the White race humility. While many were open to amalgamation of the races on cultural grounds, the issue of intermarriage was out of the question, being ruled out on biological grounds.

Social, political, and legal restrictions governing Blacks and Whites prevented intermarriage. Fredrickson, in this connection, describes what was called "romantic racialism":

> The Anglo-Saxon race, with its great force of character, much mental activity, and unflagging spirit of enterprises, has a certain hardness, a stubborn will, only moderate geniality, a lack of habitual cheerfulness. Its intellectual powers are stronger than its social instincts. The head predominates over the heart. There is little that is emotional in its religion. . . . It is a race calculated to call forth respect [rather than] love, better fitted to do than to enjoy. The African race is in many respects the reverse of this. Genial, lively, docile, emotional, the affections rule; the social instincts maintain the ascendant except under cruel repression, its cheerfulness and love of mirth overflow with the exuberance of childhood. It is devotional by feeling. It is a knowing rather than a thinking race.[25]

Romantic racialism challenged the environmentalist view of social differences between Blacks and Whites, which maintained that Blacks were beasts and that slavery was their natural lot. Blacks were improved by having the privilege of associating with Whites, however debasing slavery was. White nationalists did not accept the Uncle Tom conception of Blacks. They believed Blacks would soon disappear, because of a basic inherited weakness. While some Whites were open to "equalitarianism" among the races, intermarriage was still out of the question.

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[25] Fredrickson, p. 124.

Miscegenation was a fact of life. Despite all discussion to the contrary, it was a major part of plantation affairs between slavemasters and Black women. Miscegenation contributed to the social and psychological evolution of the White and Black race in America. The easy access the White slavemasters had to the Black woman was the reason the practice was widespread. Genovese describes the situation by quoting W. E. B. Dubois: "W. E. B. Dubois discussing antebellum miscegenation, referred to it as 'stark, ugly, painful, and beautiful. . . . The colored slave women became the medium through which two great races were united. The intimacy of the Big House and of the paternalistic master-slave relationship in general manifested itself as acts of love in the best cases, sadistic violence in the worst, and ostensible seduction and imposed lust in the typical.'"[26] The biological consequences were that much of the free population was part white.

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[26] Genovese, p. 413. Cf. Beth Day, p. 37 f. "The body of the Black female slave was the master's for the taking. Sexual rights over the body of the Black woman also became the privilege of the master's sons, the plantation overseers, and, by extension, to any white male around. It was rare to find an overseer who did not avail himself of free black sex, and a high percentage of runaway slaves were blamed on sexual triangles among slave couples and overseers. The most beautiful of the mulatto offspring of white masters and the Black slave women were frequently sold for prostitution." Cf. Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of Black Americans (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1969), p. 250. ". . . The famous Black Mammy played a central role in the psychological process that led to a fixation on Negro women and the parallel process of comparison glorification of white women." See Chapter 10, "Miscegenation in America" for historic details.

Miscegenation was implemented by rape and debauchery. The victims exhibited these symptoms: emotional conflicts of extreme intensity and guilt, identity confusion, class conflicts, conscious and unconscious turmoil, denial, and ambivalency. Sexual exploitations between the master class and the slave class touched every sector of American society. No sexual entanglement was unknown. A new race, as it were, was born with mulatto offspring from these sexual liaisons between White slavemasters and Black slavewomen. The mulattoes became objects of scorn and victims of mental ambivalency. The situation did not decrease after the termination of slavery. It became more pronounced. Genovese says, "The white South's sexual fantasies increased enormously after slavery ended--that is, after whites no longer exercised a seemingly total power over blacks--but they had appeared with the earliest racial contacts, circumscribed as they were by a rigid system of class and racial subordination."[27] Beneath these fantasies were fears, curiosities, and images of each other.

In the light of the psychology of plantation relations and White paternalism, which assumed that Blacks could not care for themselves and that their progress was inseparable from white assistance, the sexual exploitation between the two races defied the hypocrisy of this arrangement. Miscegenation did not change the attitudes of Whites toward Blacks. In fact, Whites claimed that Blacks had retrogressed after Reconstruction. They had failed to live up to the Protestant Ethic of hard work and frugality. The reason was moral and sexual laxity. The moral stature of paternalistic Whites was seen as a major contribution to Blacks under the slave system. Whites continued to project their conscious and unconscious guilt upon Blacks. Kovel summarizes the hypocrisy involved:

> Of his white women he could make an icy ideal--because by making the female ultimately his mother, an abstraction, he defended against his sexual guilt, and, covertly but very potently, revenged himself upon her; of his Blackwoman he could make a degraded breeding animal, the perfect warm, helpless, instinctual

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[27] Genovese, p. 428.

> creature from which to obtain free sexual pleasure; and upon the black man he could visit all the woe that collected on the biblical Ham--there, in the darktown shanties, was the guilt; blackened, virile yet castrated, childlike, object, a totally manageable blackened father within a totally contained blackened son.[28]

The psychology of plantation relations was replete with contradictions. The plantation system was developed to keep Black slaves in a subservient role, but did not control the feelings of masters and slaves. The power of the slavemasters was intermingled with the flesh of the slavewoman. He desired the very object he detested, and found a crude and sadistic form of sexual gratification. She abhorred the slavemaster but had no control over her body. The slavemaster and the Black slavewoman symbolized the mutual attraction and disgust which had existed between the races.

This confused state between the races originated in the intimacy of the Big House between slavemasters and Black women. This was why the slavemaster was highly threatened by the Black male, who was emasculated before the eyes of the Black slavewoman. He taught her not to respect the Black male, because he was not a man and could not protect her. He taught the Black male simultaneously that the Black female was a breeding animal and should be treated as such.

Miscegenation deepened the domestic conflict between Black males and females in the slave quarters. Very often they took out on each other what the slavemaster had done to both of them. The seeds were falsely planted for equating womanhood with being sexually exploited by a White man. At the same time, Black manhood was falsely equated with a desire for the "forbidden fruit." It was assumed that every Black man secretly wanted a White woman. This was why the Black male could not, in any way, be allowed to think of himself as a man. The best way to keep him emasculated was through the Black woman.

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[28] Kovel, p. 187. One should understand here that the author is committed to a psychoanalytic perspective of racism in America. The Black man is a castrated victim of a punitive father figure.

Not only did miscegenation create domestic conflict between Black males and females, but also within the wider slave community. The mulatto ("light-skinned Black") reminded them of their degraded state of existence. Escape from the slavemaster was psychologically unrealistic. He had invaded their quarters, and could be seen when he was not there. The mulattos were taught that because of their "White blood" they were better than their darker brothers and sisters. The evolution of the mulatto, in certain parts of the plantation South, created a caste system within the Black community, before and after the Civil War.

Miscegenation meant that there was no level to which the slavemaster would submit himself in the exploitation of Black slaves. The psychology of plantation relations made apparent that there was no place in time or space where Blacks could not be controlled by Whites. Prior to the Civil War an emerging scientific community placed its findings before the American public to prove what was considered socially the "greatest of sin" and justify the domination of Whites based on the innate inferiority of Blacks. In all probability the issue contributed to the idea of separate churches for Black and White Christians.

PRE- AND POST-CIVIL WAR SCIENTIFIC RACISM

Science in the Service of Slavery

The oppression of the Black slaves under slavery in the nineteenth century was approved by an emerging scientific community. The scientific community was called in to settle proslavery versus antislavery debates. The scientific community responded with various theories about racial beginnings. "Polygenesis" was the single most important issue relative to "the separate creation of the races as a distinct species."[29] Distinguished scientists **disputed this issue.** Standard scientific thinking was that the caucasian intellect was a "gift by nature." Blacks could only reach intellectual equality by ceasing to be Black. It would require "a transformation of one race into another through the power of environment."[30]

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[29] Fredrickson, p. 73.

At this time, the "American school of ethnology" came into being. Some scientists inferred that Blacks were inferior because of cranial size and body chemistry. Their servile position in Ancient Egypt was cited as historical evidence of inferiority. In no way were Blacks the blood brothers and sisters of American Whites. Some suggested that the region, environment, and climate from which the two races came dictated their superior and subordinate relationships. The scientific community added fuel to the fire of the proslavery and antislavery debates. A scientific prospectus was established for what one well-known scientist called "the nigger business" or "niggerology." The scientists of the day, therefore, provided justification not only for slavery, but for further imperialistic expansion among dark peoples on the earth.

Little research was founded on authentic scientific data. Findings were based more on the racial preconceptions of the scientists, and pressures from the people for whom they were writing. These findings concluded that biological equality of the races was impossible. The Christian Bible was quoted as verification that Blacks were a "permanent and inferior variety of the human species. . . ."[31] That Whites were superior was a practical and permanent fact. Blacks could not surmount their servile condition: it was inherent in nature. The evidence was irrefutable. Blacks were psychologically impaired and prone to insanity. Black mental health was contentment with a subservient lot.

What the scientific community claimed to be irrefutable empirical evidence was taken by the medical and psychological communities and built into myths and perpetuated through popular magazines into the twentieth century. This information described alleged constitutional differences between the races. Most discussions were supported by the

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[30] Ibid., p. 72

[31] Ibid., p. 81.

"doctrine of diverse origins." A leading scientist around the turn of the century said:

> The white man was endowed with determination, will power, self-control, "with a high development of the ethical and esthetic faculties and great reasoning power." The Black man loves melody and ostentation, lacks judgment, and "We are forced to conclude," he said "that it is useless to elevate the Negro by education or otherwise, except in the direction of his natural endowments."[32]

The scientific community drew heavily upon the tenets of social Darwinism, which had attained worldwide recognition. That Blacks had evolved from barbaric origins and that they would even be human was inconceivable. Darwinism also contributed to the "racist reconciliation of science and Scripture."[33] Darwinism was applied to substantiate Biblical justification for Black inferiority. The issue exploded in the clash between North and South that led to the Civil War. Following the war, it continued to add to the political fury between the respective regions. Racial inferiority was invoked on the grounds of biological evolutionism. The political corollary was for Whites only; and a permanent lot of servitude for Blacks, despite the collapse of plantation capitalism. The Declaration of Independence would not apply to Blacks, because of their subhuman origins. North or South, Blacks were inferior.

Darwinism also implied that Blacks would become extinct as time passed. The Darwinian thesis of the "survival of the fittest" and the "preservation of favored races in the struggle for life" meant that eventually Whites would not have to concern themselves with Blacks. Darwinism was used to lay a philosophical rationale for Black inferiority during the Reconstruction era. Some intellectuals thought that

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[32] Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen, Racism and Psychiatry (Secaucus, N.J.: The Citadel Press, 1974), p. 5. These authors point out the naivete with which leading scientists and psychologists based their findings on Black inferiority. An excellent summary of racism in the field of psychiatry.

[33] Fredrickson, p. 87.

Darwinism was "a very easy solution to a troubling question."[34] They felt the ultimate destiny and fate of Blacks would take care of itself through a natural (racial) process of elimination. According to Fredrickson, quoting a writer of the period,

> "In this ruthless struggle for existence carried on by human society, those who are weaker physically, intellectually, and morally must in the end yield to the stronger. . . . If then the Black man cannot successfully compete with the white man, he is fated to be the victim of that natural selection which is constantly operating under our eyes in spite of everything, and he must eventually go under, in the more or less distant future."[35]

The implication was "the struggle for existence" would show unequivocally whether Blacks could become men and women. Later census statistics refuted the Darwinian interpretation of Black degeneracy. In fact, a rapidly growing Black population became increasingly threatening. Many predicted a race war was inevitable. Whites perceived the growth of a Black population as the end of the established order. This factor alone contributed to the demise of the Reconstruction era. The readvent of White supremacy commenced an era of violent lynchings at the dawn of and into the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The prophets of Darwinism were disappointed. Blacks did not disappear from the American scene. When Darwinism stopped the increasing use of modern statistics took its place and reinforced the time-honored claims of innate Black inferiority. In fact, statistics were employed to reinforce myths of Black degeneracy through the continued misuse of Darwinism. Social Darwinism, therefore, took on a different appearance. It was applied to discussions about hereditary characteristics. Fredrickson says, "By 1900 Darwinism provided the basis for a necessary reformation of the set of racist concepts originally developed in the middle of the nineteenth century as a rationale for slavery."[36]

The extensive use of Darwinism to reinforce the belief in the innate inferiority of Blacks was unconsciously related to White guilt over slavery. It was a way of not recognizing that what was done was wrong. It was the refusal to deal with the fact that the highest ethical and religious principles of a nation founded on Christian democracy were transgressed. White guilt was demonically controlled to the extent that there was no need to expiate or to make retribution for the wrong that was done. Reconstruction was considered by the politicians of the day a gross mistake. The White ego justified its actions, regardless of conflict with the Superego. Whites would not listen to their internal authority when it came to Blacks. Whites blamed Blacks for White transgressions, and conceptualized reasons for their unwillingness to change.

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[34] Ibid., p. 237. [35] Ibid. [36] Ibid., p. 254.

Darwinism also offered a ready excuse for not allowing Blacks to share in the rising capitalistic economy of the world's fastest growing industrial nation and its increasing leadership in global affairs. The economic ethics of a growing breed of American entrepreneurs did not include Blacks as cosharers in "the American way of life." The political currents of the Reconstruction era indicated that Blacks were moving too fast and needed to be put back "in their place." When Blacks were lynched and murdered, it was reasoned that this was "the natural order" of things, of a superior species removing a subspecies.

On the whole, Darwinism provided Whites with the opportunity of explaining away one of the great sins of the premodern period. White rationalizations justified the system of Black oppression in every area of American life and made it appear reasonable. Whites sought to "cover up" their irrational behavior with a logic provided by the academic community, particularly in the fields of sociology, psychology, and physiology. This was certainly the case in the first half of the twentieth century. Scientific racism continued to research the subject of Black inferiority.

Scientific Racism in Education

Scientific racism continued into the twentieth century, building on "the myths of the past," especially those based on evolutionary racism. The strength of evolutionary racism was not dissipated easily; it influenced reputable scientists from the last part of the century to the present. Thomas and Sillen said in historical perspective:

> In its long and ugly history in the United States, white racism has improvised a thousand variations on two basic themes. The first is that Black people are born with inferior brains and a limited capacity for mental growth. The second is that their personality tends to be abnormal, whether by nature or by nurture. These concepts of inferiority and pathology are inter-related and reinforce each other. Both have served to sanctify a hierarchical social order in which "the Negro's place" is forever ordained by his genes and the accumulated disabilities of his past.[37]

From slavery to the present scientific racism was spread on the faulty and crude findings of anatomy and physiology. The "primal difference" of the races was invoked, biological evolutionism, the concept of instincts and hereditary characteristics, the misuse of statistics, to prove that Blacks were not and never would be equal to Whites. This would never occur in space or time. Advancement by Blacks was the result of their association with Whites.

While twentieth century scientific racism placed emphasis on genetics and IQ, findings were influenced by past racist research. Genes and IQ were believed to be related. The IQ influences the genes. Baughman says: "Much of the bitter debate about the 'nature' of the Black American has focused upon his alleged intellective inferiority.

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[37] Thomas and Sillen, p. 1. Cf. the article by Rhett S. Jones, "Proving Blacks Inferior: The Sociology of Knowledge," in Joyce A. Ladner, ed., The Death of White Sociology (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 114 f. Ladner, introducing the Jones article, said: "Until around 1930, the main thrust of white scholarship viewed Blacks as innately inferior. Social Darwinism was one of the cornerstones of this approach in sociology. Modern-day theorists have sought to eliminate genetic fallacies from the various disciplines, but not with complete success. Black inferiority is a recurring theme and white scholars continue to debate the issue. Arthur Jensen's theories on Black intelligence have far ranging social implications. Jones points out that three scientific approaches have been employed to prove the innate inferiority of Blacks. The 'sociological' approach was based on observations and commentaries in social life. The 'psychological approach' was experimental with its emphasis on variables, control, experiments and measurement." The physiological approach involved controlled experiments in measurement.

This allegation, of course, has served as a rationalization for many forms of discriminatory treatment."[38] Lincoln says: "There has never been a Negro born in America who has not been crippled and maimed by the great lie of racial inferiority."[39]

Blacks were invariably considered unable to attain intellectual heights. No attention was given to the fact that IQ tests were oriented toward white culture. Intelligence (IQ) was a hypothetical construct; it was postulated that for Blacks, by comparison, "the rate of intellective growth . . . is less than that for whites."[40] Race was considered a determinative factor, the assumption being that genetic factors helped to determine intelligence. The IQ gap between Blacks and Whites was due to hereditary factors.

Discussions on the relation of intelligence to genes was particularly attributed to Jensonism.[41] Jenson and his followers concluded that "intelligence is locked in by biological factors. Efforts to substantially increase the Black' IQ by programs of compensatory education (such as Headstart) are doomed to failure."[42]

Genetics was developed on the assumption that human populations differed in their inherited mental qualities. This provided scientific evidence for justifying Black inferiority. The intellectual potential of Blacks was genetically limited. These discussions proved inconclusive, and there was bitter controversy in the field. Where Blacks were concerned, "group differences" were usually overlooked. Nevertheless, the "genetic fallacy" continued to influence the fields of

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[38] E. Earl Baughman, Black American: A Psychological Analysis (New York: Academic Press, 1971), p. 5. Cf. with Thomas and Sillen.

[39] C. Eric Lincoln, My Face Is Black (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 73.

[40] Baughman, p. 7.

[41] Ibid., p. 9. See Thomas and Sillen, p. 30 f, for a fuller discussion of the widespread impact and influence of Jensonism, especially in the light of the recent Arianism of Nazi Germany.

[42] Baughman, p. 10.

American education psychology. Blacks became victimized by the I.Q."numbers game."

Other explanations were given for the low IQ of Blacks. The "environmental explanation" pointed to the problems of impoverished cultural and educational background on personality. Family studies showed how the socioeconomic status of the family harmed personality, especially how intellective performance was affected. The average Black grew up under social conditions which were less than conducive to intellective growth. Still Blacks were continually displaced by IQ tests. Baughman says in perspective:

> Until a just society is realized, the Black man is going to continue to be burdened by IQ data . . . it is impossible to predict an individual's IQ by the color of his skin, and it is unfair to him to make predictions about his intelligence based upon differences in means between racial groups. . . . The Black man must therefore, fight against the unfair application of comparative IQ data while seeking social conditions which will provide him with equal opportunities to develop all of his potential qualities, both intellective and nonintellective.[43]

The educational community relied heavily on IQ tests. The validity of many IQ tests was called into question. Problems related to measurement errors appeared. Also problems appeared related to the examiner's ability to make accurate correlations.[44] Blacks were discriminated against because of IQ tests which were later proved not to be "culturally free" and "objective." The individual examiner's cultural frame of reference was discovered to be a factor.

When IQ tests were compared between Black and White children, Black children were always deficient. Little attention was given to motivational factors, and the need for positive reinforcement. Individual variations among children were overlooked. The average Black child entered school unprepared. Regardless of race, sex, and age variables, Black children scored below White children. This was the rationale for putting Black children in predominantly Black classes, because of their supposedly low intellect.

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[43] Ibid., p. 13.

[44] Ibid., p. 12 f.

Black teachers were more effective in teaching Black children, but this served as a buffer for discriminatory practices, which were believed to have permanent damaging effects on the child's personality. Blacks still viewed school desegregation favorably. To be sure, desegregation worked in favor of some Black children and to the disadvantage of others. The dilemma was compounded by the fact that many Black schools were substandard. In too many cases, they did not adequately prepare Blacks to compete with Whites. Even when Black children desegregated White schools, they were academically behind their peers. Teacher expectations, coupled with the society's view of the Black child as being intellectually inferior, compounded the already existing problems.

The nineteen forties to the early nineteen sixties gave rise to what Clark called the "cult of cultural deprivation." Clark was referring to the mass of literature in the field of educational psychology which revealed the seductive and racial discriminations of well-meaning scientists and educators. The literature was written on the premise of disproving the innate inferiority of Black children. It based the Black child's inept scholastic performance on "environmental disabilities."

> The literature on this topic has used a variety of synonyms for this concept. Among them are: culturally disadvantaged, the disadvantaged, minority groups socially neglected, socially rejected, socially deprived, school retarded, educationally disadvantaged, lower socio-economic groups, socio-economically deprived, culturally impoverished, culturally different, rural disadvantaged, the deprived slum children.[45]

Clark pointed out what he believed to be the core of the matter:

> Just as those who proposed the earlier racial inferiority theories were invariably members of the dominant racial groups who presumed

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[45] Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 130. Cf. Chapter 5, "The Deficient 'Deficit' Model" in Thomas and Sillen.

> themselves and their group to be superior, those who at present propose the dultural deprivation theory, are, in fact, members of the privileged group who inevitably associated their privileged status with their own innate intellect and its related educational success.[46]

Thomas and Sillen said: "The concept of 'cultural deprivation' places the emphasis on the psychological characteristics of the poor individual himself--his language use, perceptual level, cognitive style, emotional himself--his language use, perceptual level, cognitive style, emotional attributes. . . . poverty nowadays is often discussed as if it were a personal trait rather than a social condition."[47] Cultural deprivation theories assumed inborn group inferiority and that White middle class culture represented "the standard norm" for society, particularly in language usage and cognitive skill development. The answer provided for this problem was compensatory educational programs (such as Headstart) to bring Blacks up to the standard norm. Cultural deprivation theories said nothing about how teacher attitudes reinforced stereotypes. These attitudes "about the apathy and low mental ability of the Black student help to determine their behavior. Discrimination contributes to the 'inferiority,' which is then used to rationalize the discrimination."[48]

Imposing one group's norm was not the desirable way to secure the best results. The White middle class way, as the standard norm, came into serious question and ridicule from liberal Whites. Thomas and Sillen said:

> One must also question the presumption and arrogance of the premise that the white middle-class way is a desirable one. At this point in history, it hardly needs belaboring that the established middle-class mores are not providing a healthy basis for the flourishing of humanistic values. One can hardly pick up a book or article by a thoughtful observer of American life without an anguished reminder of this truth.[49]

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[46] Clark, p. 131.

[47] Thomas and Sillen, p. 67.

[48] Ibid., p. 77.

[49] Ibid., p. 78.

Prejudice and the American Dilemma

During the early nineteen fifties, discrimination was shown by Allport to be rooted in "the nature of prejudice." Allport exposed the scientific justification for discrimination by pointing out that it was based on ignorance and emotionalism attached to differences between races. Prejudice was more than a value concept where Blacks simply knew their place and Whites theirs. Allport said: "Wherever a negative attitude toward persons is sustained by a spurious overgeneralization we encounter the syndrome of prejudice."[50] Prejudice was the essential attitude of favor or disfavor, an overgeneralized belief of an in-group towards an out-group. Prejudice in the form of discrimination excluded members of an out-group. In America, Blacks were denied equality of treatment; they were the out-group. A generation earlier prejudice toward Blacks created what Myrdal called the "American Dilemma." This hindered and made hypocritical the moral leadership in the world, to which it had always aspired, of the United States. Myrdal also spoke of the psychic dilemma the Negro presented for the White man: "In this magical sphere of the white man's mind, the Negro is inferior, totally independent of rational proofs or disproofs. And he is inferior in a deep and mystical sense. The reality of his inferiority is the white man's own indubitable sensing of it, and that feeling applies to every single Negro."[51] Not only was there a psychic dilemma but there was also a moral dilemma for the White man. Allport stated: "The sense of guilt, especially in recent years, has been sharply enhanced by the international situation. The United States is learning that its greatest handicap in dealing with the colored nations and colonial peoples of the world is its treatment of American Negroes."[52]

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[50] Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1958), p. 12.

[51] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Vol. II (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), p. 100.

[52] Allport, p. 313.

In the White Christian community, during this period, thinkers like Reinhold Niebuhr and Kyle Haselden, with their theological ethics, perhaps building on the thought of social scientists like Myrdal and Allport, also pointed out that prejudice was not acquired. Prejudice was not inherent in people; it had an artificial, adhesive, and additive quality. At the heart of prejudice was self-centeredness or the sin of racial pride in relation to the denial of another group to coexist. Niebuhr said: "Racial prejudice, the contempt of the other group, is an inevitable concomitant of racial pride and racial pride is an inevitable concomitant of the ethnic will to live."[53]

Supplying "the missing key" in understanding the nature of prejudice, Haselden was convinced that the answer was a problem of the human soul and not the natural phenomenon which social scientists and psychologists claimed. He said, "Consequently the proper approach to the basic problem of racial prejudice is to examine not the object, the Negro, but the subject, the white man."[54]

Prejudice in the form of discrimination was an effective instrument for negating Black social mobility. Advancement alarmed whites who wanted Blacks to "stay in their places." Generations of Blacks from slavery prior to the nineteen-fifties were scarred to the extent that successive generations would suffer. Black children continued to suffer most because of "a nebulous sense of inferiority associated with dark skin."[55] Black children came to associate dark pigmentation with dirt, which was consciously and unconsciously conveyed to them by White and Black parents alike. This reinforced their Black child's academic apathy.

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[53] Reinhold Niebuhr, The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 139.

[54] Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 79.

[55] Allport, p. 288.

Prejudice took such extreme forms as out-group rejection, based on visual and sensory aversion, which had its roots deep in slavery, implying that Blacks had offensive odors and were dirty. None was more pronounced than slavery-time stereotypes of Blacks. White rejection of Blacks was rationalized whereby the means suited the end. Allport said: "If I can lump thirteen million of my fellow citizens under a simple formula, 'Negros are stupid, dirty, and inferior,' I simplify my life enormously. I simply avoid them one and all. What could be easier?"[56]

Allport quoted a nineteenth century sociologist who described how pervasive the problem was in American life and culture. Blacks were "loud and coarse, revealing much more of the animal qualities than the spiritual . . . very religious in their crude way."[57] The particular sociologist cited by Allport considered these to be the "usual characteristics of the Negro race."[58]

The practice of stereotyping Blacks during the middle twentieth century was a throwback to the days of plantation slavery. The message was clear to Blacks that a former and horrifying way of life was still the order in American relations between Blacks and Whites. When the authority of science was not invoked, comparisons were made of Blacks on relation to other minorities, particularly the Jews. Blacks had to live with stereotypes of lower intelligence, especially when compared with the Jews. This practice was fashionable among social scientists during the nineteen-forties and fifties. This was still another way of sayint that "Blacks were stupid!"

Slavery-time stereotypes were based on the principle of self-justification. A person or group was disliked for the mere reason that they were different. Discriminative rationalizations--inherent in the nature of prejudice--were easy to justify regardless of contrary facts. The stereotype refortified the reflector's built-in prejudices. According to Allport, the following stereotypes were typically applied to Blacks during the middle twentieth century.

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[56] Ibid., p. 20. [57] Ibid., p. 84. [58] Ibid.

inferior mentality
primitive morality
emotional instability
overassertiveness
lazy and boisterous
religious fanaticism
fondness for gambling
gaudy and flashy in dress
close to anthropoid ancestors
given to crimes of violence with razors and knives
high birth rate threatening to white majority
susceptible to bribery by politicians
occupationally unstable
superstitious
lazy
happy-go-lucky
ignorant
musical[59]

Stereotypes, true or not, were devastating in influencing attitudes regarding another person, group, or race. Stereotypes served the Southern function of keeping the Blacks in their place, providing Whites with a shield for avoiding social contact. George Kelsey calls stereotypes the racist "articles of faith."[60] Containing elements of both truth and error, stereotypes served the function of promoting aggressive racism through exaggerated generalizations, to maintain the status quo and existing systemic and power structures. They are embued with racial hatred; they limited Blacks socially, politically, and economically. Stereotypes created an I-it relationship at the spiritual level between Blacks and Whites. An I-thou relationship was totally negated. Stereotypes allowed Whites "to blot the Negro out of existence. Consequently he is never obliged to face the real Negro, but can always manipulate the image which he himself has created."[61]

Stereotypes and discrimination were the dominant forms of prejudice in the dehumanization of Black people. They had the contradictory quality of praising and damning, and were even used to romanticize

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[59] Ibid., p. 192.

[60] George D. Kelsey, Racism and the Christian Understanding of Man (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 43.

[61] Ibid., p. 47.

Blacks. This led Haselden, who from the point of view of moral realism had defined stereotyping as "a denial of the right to be," to say: "I suggest that in the stereotyping of the Negro there is epitomized the final invasion of the last sanctuary of the human soul a man's right to be."[62] Blacks, therefore, were nonbeings. Haselden added: "Stereotyping denies the Negro as a unique, individual, and irreplaceable person."[63] Haselden concluded:

> All of this is implied in our statement that stereotyping is the symbolic denial of the Negro's right to be. Stereotyping is, of course, in itself a real denial of that individualism and integrity which are the essence of personality; but, more than that, it is the word which identifies the destructive efforts of discrimination . . . upon the soul of the Negro.[64]

Stereotypes, therefore, armed the dominant group with the discriminative rationalizations it needed to justify racism as an instrument for insuring that Blacks accept a preassigned and degraded role. Kovel pointed out:

> Whites have created the institutions by which Black people are forced to live, and which force them to live in a certain way, almost invariably so as to foster just that constellation of unworthy traits. From slavery itself to modern welfare systems, this has been the enduring pattern, reinforced in popular culture and education by a panoply of stereotypes along the same lines.[65]

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF BEING BLACK

Blacks, Pathology, and Self-Hate

Racism promoted the idea that one group belonged for the convenience of the other. Racism fed on stereotypes and negative images about Blacks. At its worst, racism tried to force Blacks to despise themselves. Kovel said: "The accumulation of negative images forced upon Blacks in America amounted to presenting them with one massive and destructive choice: either to hate one's self, as culture so systematically demanded, or to have no self at all, to be nothing."[66]

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[62] Haselden, p. 143.

[63] Ibid., p. 154.

[64] Ibid., p. 146.

[65] Kovel, p. 195.

The self-hate theme infiltrated the literature on the personality of Blacks. Kardiner and Ovesey influenced several generations of scholars with their psychoanalytic interpretation of Black behavior. Focusing on domestic, social, and psychic pathology, Blacks were victims who failed to adapt in American society. Blacks hated themselves because of an inability to function in a healthy manner as a minority. Blacks were permanently scarred; they were internally torn, and suffered from low self-esteem. Inferiority feelings led them to identify with Whites, whom they hated as their internalized ego-ideal. This was the contemporary counterpart of Elkin's internalized slavemasters. They were hostile toward members of their race, who reminded them of their degraded status.[67] Blacks were destroying themselves through misplaced aggression.

Black behavior was compensatory. Basic personality deficits could not be eradicated. Self-hate resulted when Blacks were excluded as an in-group, where the racial majority took the liberty of treating them as a minority out-group. This was the beginning of the White majority syndrome in American race discussions. Identification with the oppressor occurred when a Black person's ego defenses failed. The loss of self-respect was emotionally and socially crippling, particularly in the presence of Whites. Allport said: "They have heard so frequently that they are lazy, ignorant, dirty, and superstitious that they may half believe the accusations, and since the traits are commonly despised in our western culture--which, of course, Negros share--some degree of in-group hate seems almost inevitable."[68]

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[66] Ibid., 196.

[67] See Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression (New York: World Publishing, 1951), pp. 47, 303, and 339. Also see Bertram P. Karon, Black Scars (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1975). The latter book builds on and extends the thesis of the former, that the personality of Blacks is permanently scarred as a result of slavery and the effects of discrimination, which had led to low self-esteem and self-hatred in Blacks. Both books are based on the theory of the total destruction of the aboriginal culture of the African slave.

Influenced by Kardiner and Ovesey, C. Eric Lincoln, a Black sociologyst, writing during the early sixties, pointed out how the self-hate syndrome affected all class levels in the Black community. "The self-hatred engendered by the caste constrictions is intense. In the lower classes it is expressed as displaced aggression upon other Negroes. In the middle and upper classes it is projected outward as hatred for Caucasians and lower-class Negroes."[69] Moreover, self-hate was related to acceptance of "the myth of Black inferiority." Lincoln added: "Self-hatred has scarred the Negro personality like some corrosive acid. No sane man can marvel that this is so, because for all his life in America the Negro has been hated for being Black and he has learned from his haters to hate himself."[70] Lincoln was thinking retrospectively on centuries of Black servitude.

According to Thomas and Sillen, the self-hate theory has led to a narrow perspective of Blacks seen "as a victim, . . . as a patient, a parolee, a petitioner for aid, rarely as a rounded human being."[71] Blacks had not been viewed from the perspective of having developed healthy coping skills and an unusual ability to handle stress. Although stress was the direct result of pathology, the fact remained that stress could generate healthy coping mechanisms, which had not been considered in Blacks' behavior. The self-hate theory falsely assumed that Blacks were overwhelmed by the destructive influences of a racist society. Recently, "the course of history decisively refuted this image of a crushed people. The powerful thrust of the Black liberation movement dramatically testified to the courage, determination, and resourceful-

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[63] Allport, p. 148.

[69] Lincoln, p. 69. Even great Black scholars like Lincoln bought the low-esteem/self-hate theories of Kardiner and Ovesey, and Karon.

[70] Lincoln, p. 75.

[71] Thomas and Sillen, p. 46.

ness of the masses of Blacks--qualities that could arise only from psychological health, not pathology."[72]

The self-hate theory was probably overemphasized. Thomas and Sillen, quoting an outstanding psychologist of the day, wrote:

> Even so astute an observer as Robert Coles (1967), whose findings refute the thesis appears to believe that it can be balanced with contradictory data. "Though in no way do I deny what Kardiner and Ovesey have called 'the mark of oppression,' . . . it remains equally true that alongside suffering *I have encountered a resilience and an incredible capacity for survival*." Perhaps the positive characteristics that Coles discovered in Black people would have come as less of a revelation had psychiatric education been free of dogmas about Black pathology.[73]

Blacks had shown that slavery, disenfranchisement, the collapse of Reconstruction, the readvent of White supremacy, Jim Crow status, lynchings and race riots, discrimination, stereotypes, and segregation (even as fighting men in World Wars I and II) did not destroy but only delimited their remarkable coping skills in the face of the perennial problems of racial prejudice. Blacks resisted Whites from the inception of slavery to the Black Revolution of the nineteen sixties. The self-hate theory assumed that Blacks looked at life through the eyes of White America. Sambo and the dispossessed mulatto and Uncle Tom were White slavery-time caricatures. Blacks did not willingly comply with the power of "Big Massa" and "Mr. Charlie." Behind this line of thought was the myth of the slave's idyllic lot under slavery. Amazingly, this was thought to be the case in the early nineteen sixties. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his followers through the Civil Rights movement and the rebirth of the radical impulse in the on-going Black Revolution crushed the self-hate theory. The Civil Rights movement was not a "reaction formation" but a sign of health calling an end to oppression.

The "invention of the Negro" who hated himself or herself was necessary for Whites who disgraced the word freedom in an attempt to castrate Blacks socially, politically, and economically. Blacks wanted respect for their uniqueness as human beings. As opposed to wanting to be White, their fight was one of trying to be themselves and to find a meaningful place in American life. They wanted what others wanted in this country--freedom, equality, and to earn a decent living. The Caucasian standard was important only insofar as there was nothing else for a people who had been denied their own uniqueness and were forced to comply with those who had identified them as the patient. The self-hate theory implied that for Blacks to stop hating themselves they must become White.

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[72] Ibid., p. 51. [73] Ibid., p. (italics mine).

Killens wrote:

> My fight is not for racial sameness but for racial equality and against racial prejudice and discrimination. I work for the day when my people will be free of the racist pressures to be white like you; a day when "good hair" and "high yaller" and bleaching cream and hairstraighteners will be obsolete. What a tiresome place America would be if freedom meant we all had to think alike and wear the same gray flannel suit.[74]

The self-hate theory and discussions about Black pathology were specifically aimed at the Black family and its effects on Black Children in particular. The Black family did not measure up to the model White family. Pathology in the Black family and poverty had been glossed over by many social scientists. Blacks were blamed for their precarious conditions, and the urban slums replaced the plantation of the antebellum South. The pathology of the Black family was portrayed by the mother dominated home. The Black family was seen in a state of complete collapse. Black pathology implied that Blacks were still in a state of infantilism. They had not developed far beyond slavery.

An ironic corollary, which ran throughout the literature on Black pathology, was the preoccupation of White social scientists with

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[74] John Oliver Killens, "Explanation of the Black Psyche," New York Times Magazine, June 7, 1964, p. 39.

Black sexuality. Black sexuality was researched and described in terms of its "primitive" quality, and that a real fear of "Black rape" existed in the minds of Whites. This, of course, was a carry-over from slavery. It was also a blatant denial of what was going on between Blacks and Whites from the inception of slavery. It showed that Whites did not really believe in "the myth of the castrated Black male." Sexually, as compared with Whites, Blacks functioned on an animal level.

Sex and race were inseparable from understanding the evolution of Blacks and Whites in American life. This was naturally denied by modern researchers, with their pervasive fear of Black-White marriages and their assorted rationalizations against intermarriage. An interesting contradiction was the increased sexual interest created during the nineteen sixties, a decade remembered for the rising crescendo of radicalism and militancy between Blacks and Whites. An example was the involvement of liberal Whites in the Civil Rights struggle which occurred between the mid nineteen-fifties and mid nineteen-sixties. Because of the fear of sexual intermixing, Black pathology became a viable tool for negating this process. Black pathology existed and could not be denied. It existed, but not apart from Whites who were the primary contributors to Black pathology.

Blacks, Self-Esteem, and Identity

The real fact behind the self-hate theory was that throughout the Black experience Whites remained a constant threat to Black Self-esteem. The White threat to Black personality was based on the ethics of "white was right." Anything African or Black was bad, which was a carry-over from slavery. Protecting self-esteem was a matter of survival and health. Blacks persevered in spite of the perpetual denial of social status. Undeniably, the chronic White threat complicated the psychosocial developmental task of defining identity.

Erik H. Erikson, during the nineteen-sixties, discussed the problem of Black self-esteem and the acute matter of Blacks achieving a healthy identity in American society. Focusing on the Black child, Erikson believed that it was almost impossible to establish "continuity" as the child moved through the "identity crisis" of the various psychosocial stages of life. Erikson said: "The Black man had a 'slave's identity.'" This was "his only historically successful identity and fails to provide a reintegration of the other identity fragments. . . ."[75] Because of the unavoidable problem of identifying with Whites, the Black man, "by the pressure of tradition and the limitation of opportunity is forced to identify with its own evil identity fragments . . . jeopardizing whatever participation in the American identity. . . ."[76]

Black history showed a continuous struggle with negative "identity formation." Erikson concluded that Blacks had never been able to protect their self-esteem, which would have provided inner emancipation from the oppressor. Blacks were victims of C. Vann Woodward's surrendered identity," and were perceived as a "pseudospecies." According to Erikson, a pseudospecies concerns "man's deep-seated conviction that some providence has made his tribe or race or caste, and, yes, even his religion 'naturally' superior to others."[77] The White American pseudospecies, as it were, lived off their "positive identities" in relation to the "negative identities" of Blacks. Erikson added: "For each positive identity is also defined by negative images . . . our God-given identities often live off the degradation of others."[78]

Erikson believed that the answer to Black self-esteem was in reclaiming the lost "African identity." Blacks did not even have the identity of an "immigrant." He said: "The African identity is a strong contender for the American Negro identity. . . . It offers a highly actual setting for the solidarity of Black skin color, and probably also provides the American Negro with an equivalent of what all other Americans could boast about or, if they choose to, disavow: a homeland, if ever so remote."[79] This would help to overcome the debilitating problem of Black "identity conclusion." This, coupled with what Erikson called the "territoriality of identity," whereby a superior group claimed it was its own, and other groups, considered to be inferior, were exploited to help them maintain it, underscored that achieving a healthy identity was highly unlikely for Blacks.

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[75] Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968), p. 243.

[76] Ibid., p. 244.

[77] Erik H. Erikson, Identity, Youth, and Crisis (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), p. 298.

[78] Ibid., p. 299.

According to Erikson, the answer for Blacks and Whites was a more "inclusive identity." He said: "A more inclusive identity is a development by which two groups who previously had come to depend on each other's negative identities join their identities in such a way that new potentials are activated in both."[80] The problem was who would take the initiative to bring about a more "inclusive identity"? Blacks took the initiative during the nineteen sixties through what C. Eric Lincoln called the "mood ebony"; this was a public acclamation of the acceptance of being Black, and being Black in America.

Indeed, the "mood ebony" was the psychological expression of the Black Revolution. Its roots were deep in the past and it was in tune with the Black protest movement for Civil Rights and a cultural identification with Africa. This movement gave birth to an "awakening" in "Black Pride." The cultural expression "Black Is Beautiful" came into vogue, and an acceptance of the African motherland as righ in its tradition. The message behind the "mood ebony" was that one was "going to stay in America and still be Black without apology for his blackness."[81]

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[79] Ibid., p. 317.

[80] Ibid., p. 315. One should understand that most psychologists and sociologists like Erikson were under the heavy influence of Freudian psychoanalysis, a dominant school of thought in the rise of modern psychology and especially in the theoretical development of reputable scholars of his stature. While social factors were inportant in the psychology of human development for Erikson, where Blacks were concerned, his interpretation was locked into the pathology model. He, too, perhaps, was influenced by the widely read Mark of Oppression, by Kardiner and Ovesey.

The cultural symbols of social acceptance and White values were rejected in favor of Blacks accepting Blacks and the culture symbols of Blacks and their value. Definitions previously imposed on Blacks by Whites were rejected. "Black Pride" enhanced group consciousness, unity, and cohesiveness among young Blacks becoming knowledgeable about their slave foreparents. Unlike their fathers and mothers before them, these young Blacks no longer needed White institutional confirmation, which had a dramatic impact on Black youth and into the nineteen seventies. Young Blacks raised the question of identity: Black, Negro, Afro-American, or Colored? They took the question of identity away from Whites and their social scientists. Baughman says: "A fundamental goal of this assertive--even militant--activity of Black Americans is the achievement of an identity which connotes pride, not inferiority."[82]

Comer, a Black psychiatrist and Associate Dean of Yale University Medical School, said the historic event of Black consciousness in the sixties had brought about a "psychic revolution that rejects the notion of Black inferiority."[83] Acceptance of "Blackness" was dignified during the nineteen sixties. Black self-esteem and identity were reinforced, particularly by relating to African culture, history, and philosophy. A special identification evolved with African peoples and their "closeknit family or kinship structure."[84] Black youth discovered that the African mind was a proud one, that Africans valued themselves as a people and had developed a capable and adequate culture, which gave them a "sense of belonging, adequacy, value, worth, power, and control. . . ."[85]

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[81] Lincoln, p. 58.

[82] Baughman, Black America, p. 1. Cf. the following articles: James A. Goodman, "Institutional Racism: The Crucible of Black Identity," dealing with the problem of available roles for Blacks where they are at odds with the cultural symbols of the larger society in which their identity is shaped; and Jean Dresden Grambs, "Negro Self-Concept Reappraised," in James A. Banks and Jean D. Grambs, eds., Black Self-Concept (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972), pp. 124-128 and 171-173. Also cf. Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Random House, 1964), Chapter IV. Silberman is typical of those educators who blame the victims for their condition. Following Elkin's theory of infantilism, and the Kardiner-Ovesey thesis, the problem of Black identity exists because Blacks fail to do for themselves, even when they have the opportunity.

[83] James P. Comer, Beyond Black and White (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972), p. 147. Comer, too, follows the low self-esteem, self-hate line of thinking. See his chapter on "The Black Mind: Lost and Found."

Proshansky and Newton referred to what was happening to Blacks as "the conditions which foster positive group identification." One condition concerned "social insight." The problems of Blacks were not with themselves but with the White man and the social systems he erected against them. A second condition concerned "action." Blacks were not helpless and determined their destinies. A third condition concerned an "apparent heritage." Blacks had their own culture, which they could identify with, to reinforce their self-esteem and to build a positive identity.[86]

The quest to protect Black self-esteem and to achieve a healthy identity on the part of Blacks caught up in the Civil Rights movement, the "mood ebony," and the "Black Pride" thrust was inherently religious in nature. It sought to heal the hurts of centuries associated with being Black in America. Blacks realized that they had an identity all along, especially Black Christians. That identity was synonymous with the Black Church, and its historic efforts to protect the self-esteem of Blacks and to teach them who they were. This was what the Civil Rights movement accomplished prior to King's tragic and untimely death. The other expressions were by-products of the Civil Rights movement, born in the Black Church. The Black Muslims also contributed to the protection of Black self-esteem through the charismatic voice of Malcolm X.

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[84] Ibid., p. 149.

[85] Ibid., p. 154.

[86] Harold Proshansky and Peggy Newton, "Color: The Nature and Meaning of Negro Self-Identity," in Peter Watson, ed., Psychology and Race (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1974), p. 207 f.

Erikson and others overlooked the latent, pervasive and irrepressible dynamic of religion among Blacks. The Black Church had always given Blacks "a positive identity." The young Blacks of the nineteen sixties discovered what their slaveparents had discovered long before their time. The psychological benefits of the Black Revolution were directly connected with the resultant sufferings of slavery and the various forms of oppression to the time of Martin Luther King, Jr., and his contemporaries.

It was impossible for Blacks to suffer every form of inhumanity and survive without an identity. Black identity, rooted in suffering and oppression, could not share in the American identity of the free enterprise system (capitalism), imperialistic expansion, and military adventurism. An "inclusive identity" could not occur where an out-group was absorbed by an in-group into its vested interests and at the same time rejected. Prior to the nineteen seventies, this absurd situation in American interpersonal relations between Blacks and Whites erupted into widespread riots in Black ghettos of major cities across the country. It was given the psychological designation "Black Rage."

Black Rage and Beyond

Protecting self-esteem and achieving a healthy identity for Blacks was compounded by a hidden anger--a by-product of self-hate--which became classified as "Black Rage" during the late sixties by two Black Freudian trained analysts, Cobbs and Grier. Their thesis was simple: ". . . of the things that need knowing, none is more important than all Blacks are angry."[87] They took the position that emotional illness among Blacks was directly related to the problem of competition with Whites in a White society and that this led to "white paranoia." The dilemma of Blacks was one of being taught in the ambivalent situation of rejection by Whites, and, at the same time, degradation by their own people. This was Grier and Cobbs' theory behind the riots in urban ghettos during this period.

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[87] William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), p. 4. This widely read book is based on a faulty Freudian psychoanalytic model of interpretation. Cf. C. Eric Lincoln, "An Evaluation of the Qualifying Examination in Black Psychology prepared by David Hurst," Professor of Religion, Duke University, May 21, 1977, p. 3 f. "This may have important implications for the Black Church's involvement with Black rage--if indeed Black rage exists as a distinctive phenomenon. One problem is that it is

Blacks were shackled by "the shadow of their past." They had not fully recovered from the psychic trauma of slavery. So very little had changed, Grier and Cobbs argued. Black Rage was inevitable. It was a way of dealing with the contemporary White oppressor and the unresolved conscious and unconscious conflicts of the slaveholder. There was a need for psychic emancipation from identity with Whites.

Although given to psychoanalytic reductionism, Cobbs and Grier pointed out something very important: "Along with their scars, Black people have a secret. Their genius is that they have survived. In their adaptations they have developed a vigorous style of life. It has touched religion, music, and the broad canvas of creativity."[88]

That Blacks had survived at all was incredible; it pointed to the strength of Black culture. What Grier and Cobbs failed to recognize was that "the strength of Black culture" was religion. Their culture had helped Blacks survive despite constant threats to their personhood and existence. Black culture thrived because Blacks never were

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very difficult to distinguish 'rage,' racial or otherwise, as a pathological phenomenon from more common passions with less exotic sources. Whether or not there is a residual rage which derives from a history of racial abuse, Blacks still kill Blacks for the same reason Whites kill Whites and Indians kill Indians. It is this reality the Black Pastor has to deal with. The Black Pastor must surely depart from the popular tendencies of some other traditions to look for remote causes (of what we used to call sin) in abstract social pathology, rather than looking for more proximate motivations in individual human perfidy. Social pathology is a part of social existence and will always be a factor in human behavior. However, if the Black Church ever falls into the pit of believing that the only thing wrong with Black people is white people, it will be logical to mount a massive, defensive missionary movement as the first priority for Black religious survival."

[88] Grier and Cobbs, p. 38.

under any illusions about how White folk felt about them. Grier and Cobbs added: "Black people have shown a genius for surviving under the most deadly circumstances. They have survived because of their close attention to reality."[89] That reality was shaped by religion, and this was what misled many who read their popular Black Rage. Grier and Cobbs conceptualized the "Black Norm." It consisted of "cultural paranoia." Every White man was an enemy until proven innocent. Variations of this phenomenon were "cultural depression," "cultural masochism," and "cultural antisocialism." The implication was that Blacks were walking around being consciously and unconsciously controlled by some punitive white Superego ideal. This was the theory behind Black Pathology, which was not too far fetched from Kardiner and Ovesey a decade earlier.

While Grier and Cobbs were correct about the ingenious way Blacks had survived, their interpretation was based on a pathology model, and they failed to see that inherent in the Black struggle for liberation were "health strivings" and unheralded growth. That pathology in one situation may be healthy in another was overlooked. That Blacks had been able to develop "survival skills" under the "most deadly circumstances" was a sign of health, and that they regarded their personalities as sacred, to the extent that they would fight to preserve them. According to Thomas and Sillen, Black psychologist Dr. Joseph White said that on a cultural level Blacks had preserved Black personality.

> One of the very different kinds of things about the Black culture and the Black psyche of America is that it is an oral culture--the blues, the Gospel songs, the heavy rap, *the sermon* and traditions are carried orally, and people are going to have to examine the oral expression in order to make new insights in the psychological functioning of Black people. . . . We must develop a kind of psychological jiu-jitsu and recognize that what the dominant culture deems deviant or antisocial behavior might indeed be the functioning of a healthy Black psyche which objectively recognizes the antagonisms of the white culture and develops machinery for coping with them.[90]

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[89] Ibid., p. 208.

[90] Thomas and Sillen, p. 66.

The oral tradition of Blacks could not be discussed without reference to its dominant form in the psychic survival of Blacks. Of course, religion was the dominant form. Religion kept the personalities of Blacks from being completely shattered. The Pastor was the key figure, as the primary cultural as well as religious leader of Black Christians and the race, especially regarding the therapeutic value of catharsis. Comer says, "Important though music, dance, story-telling, humor and banter were in helping Blacks deal with oppression, the major adaptive mechanism was religion."[91] Comer adds: "The church provided Black men with a creed and value system that permitted them to adjust to slavery, as well as a place of catharsis that enabled them to react to the violence and oppression of the Whites on Sunday and face it again on Monday."[92]

The Black church was the most important institution in the psychic survival and preservation of Black personality. Comer recognizes this fact: "The church fulfilled important social and psychological needs which, unmet, would have resulted in more severe psychological and social trauma for greater numbers of Blacks."[93] Thus the Black church helped people to "hold on" against impossible odds, and it did this through catharsis. Comer says, "The minister understood that Blacks in a hostile white world needed psychological support."[94] The role played by the Black Pastor in catharsis had not been understood or appreciated. "The most maligned and misunderstood function of the Black church was catharsis, yet catharsis was instrumental in helping many Blacks hold on."[95]

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[91] Comer, p. 179. Cf. Joseph R. Washington, Jr., "How Black Is Black Religion?" in James J. Gardiner, S.A. and J. Deotis Roberts, Sr., eds., Quest for a Black Theology (Philadelphia: A Pilgrim Book, 1971), p. 25. "Among the African impress which was not discharged from the Black psyche was religion and its concomitants of music and dance."

[92] Comer, p. 179.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid., p. 183.

[95] Ibid., p.

Given the psychological pressures Blacks were under, and in which religion was an effective instrumentality, intrapsychic problems were not as prodigious as economic ones. Ingeniously, Blacks had done very well in maintaining psychic balance despite centuries of oppression. Their primary problems had always been social, political, and economic. The nineteen seventies had not changed this fact to any appreciable degree. The masses of Blacks were not taken in by stories about "the rising Black middle class" and the proliferation of Black entertainers across the T.V. and movie screens. The Bakke case, and the busing issues, Richard Nixon and Watergate, and recent Klan activities were reminders.

Black pathology was therefore related more to "moral injustice" against Blacks than "psychic emancipation" for Blacks. The Black mind would have functioned much better if certain external problems had not existed. Black psychologist Roderick W. Pugh, Associate Professor at Loyola University in Chicago, rightly understood the problem in the larger context of the Black Revolution, an on-going process since the inception of slavery, and instrumental in the self-reclamation of the Black psyche. Pugh says, "The Black Revolution is born out of the American Black man's will for survival, this will to surmount the effects of radical oppression, and his will toward self-actualization."[96]

Black psychiatrist Alvin Poussaint, Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, has said: "Our ability to find survival techniques testifies amply to our self-love . . . the self-hatred thesis has been grossly exaggerated. . . . The history of love among Black folks has never been recognized."[97] What Poussaint suggests amounts to a whole reassessment of Black people in the humanities and personality sciences.

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[96] Roderick W. Pugh, Psychology and the Black Experience (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1972), p. 108.

[97] Alvin F. Poussaint, Why Blacks Kill Blacks (New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, 1972), p. 26. Cf. his article, "A Negro Psychiatrist Explains the Negro Psyche," New York Times Magazine, August 20,

Going into the nineteen eighties, the psychological consequences of being Black in America and their precipitating causes remain a pressing problem for Blacks and Whites. Ironically, the current American president seeks an alliance with the very continent from which Black slaves were taken to strengthen the United States military posture against the omnipresent and menacing Soviet threat. Could a people who allegedly had no identity and their African motherland be the key to allaying a nuclear holocaust?

In retrospect, it appeared that Freudianism was misused for the same reasons that Darwinism was misused as an interpretation of the psychological and social evolution of Blacks. When political, economic, and social systems faltered in sustaining the oppression of Blacks, intellectual systems were employed to reinforce them.

SUMMARY

Any model of Shepherding Black Christians must understand centuries of dehumanization and the psychological and social pilgrimage of Blacks in America.

The psychology of plantation relations reveals the cruel account of how the White Christian race brutalized African slaves and how the slaves fought back through an underground resistance movement. Black slaves were forced to be and were treated as something less than unique personalities. Black slaves were ascribed an assorted array of plantation stereotypes, and were victims of demeaning race fantasies. The widespread practice of miscegenation and sexual exploitation exposed the hypocrisy, the deep natred, and attraction between Black slaves and White slavemasters.

An emerging scientific community served to reinforce plantation slavery with the objective of proving that this was the slave's natural lot and that being under the control of Whites actually benefited them. In the twentieth century, scientific racism controlled the field of education by applying faulty statistical data and genetic findings to Black people. The nature of prejudice deepened the schism between Blacks and Whites, based as it was more on superficial differences in the races than scientific evidence. This created the American Dilemma nationally and internationally, exposing the moral fabric of the treatment of Blacks as an ethical and social problem.

The psychological consequences of being Black stem from living in a society where White is right and Black is wrong.

It was assumed that Blacks consciously and unconsciously wanted to be White. This accounts for the problem of pathology among Blacks, particularly social and domestic. Blacks hate themselves because of White ego ideals, which even if they were achieved, would not give them acceptance. Black pathology and self-hate are the products of White injustice more than social or psychic damage done to Blacks. A damaged self-esteem and the rejection of being Black is a fallacy, considering the heretofore overlooked and powerful influence of religion in establishing Black identity. Black rage is a healthy reaction to centuries of oppression and the ability of Blacks to survive because of the key role of the Black Church. A whole new assessment needs to be done on the social and psychological pilgrimage of Blacks. Black self-love is a point of departure.

The foregoing indicates a need for the projected model. The Black Pastor should preach to strengthen Black personhood, teach Blacks not to believe the lies which have been written about them, and heal to bring wholeness to Blacks who need liberation from the psychic damage suffered from White oppression. In the role of prophet, the Black Pastor should attack a sick system that would allow the continuance of White inhumanity toward Blacks. In the role of priest, the Black Pastor should counsel Blacks to be sensitized to what White oppression has done to them in terms of how Blacks relate to Blacks. As prophet and priest, the Black Pastor should also speak to problems peculiar to Blacks apart from White oppression.

Chapter 4

THE CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF BLACK PASTORS

In the light of the evolution of the Black Church, and the pilgrimage of Black people in America, it is important to confirm whether the model of ministry currently operative in the historic Black denominations needs to be broadened. The current model is based on a narrow conception of ministry, consisting largely of preaching. Black pastors view themselves primarily as preachers, and the people they serve share the same perceptions. This religio-cultural development is the direct result of the evangelical heritage of preacher and people, what the preacher understands as the "Call" and the people's love for the Word.

THE VIEWS OF BLACK METHODIST PASTORS

View of an African Methodist Episcopal Pastor

Jules Bagneris, well-known pastor in the AME church and a popular preacher, is widely sought after as a revivalist. The fifty-nine year old pastor's birthplace is Franklin, Louisiana, and he has pastored thirty-eight years. He has held fifteen pastorates: in Texas, Washington, Nevada, northern and southern California. He currently pastors Parks Chapel AME Church in Pacoima, California. His pastorates included numerous community responsibilities. He graduated from Franklin High in Louisiana. During the thirties he studied at Southern University (a Black college). He earned his B.A. from La Verne University in La Verne, California, and his M.M.A. recently from the American Baptist Seminary of the West at Berkeley, California. Theologically, he is a moderate.

Bagneris's denomination stresses pastoral work, but admits that at the local level the emphasis is on preaching. "In the AME structure one can't see himself primarily as a preacher. We are a connectional church. Assessments become paramount. However, preaching at the local level becomes a major emphasis." He adds: "It can never be preaching alone in the AME church. Each has to see himself as a shepherd. Locally, however, he has to see himself first as a preacher and second as a pastor." This is due to "the love of the people for preaching," and "because of a call to preach first."

Although not having the same importance, "the need for teaching is there." Bagneris says, "Many Black Pastors do their teaching from the pulpit. . . . The majority even pastor from the pulpit. The Black Pastor is heavily 'dependent upon his personal popularity' as a pulpiteer." That is why "he has to deal with pastoral functions while preaching the Word."

The healing ministry historically is forced upon the Black Pastor. The AME frowned upon it, but are reexamining it today.

> He has been forced to see himself as a healer of broken homes, of broken lives, not necessarily of physical ills. From the beginning of our church, except through medicine, emphasis was not on physical healing. People were referred to the proper places to go and suggested certain roots and herbs. The old Black Preacher knew about the roots and herbs of the area. Unfortunately for us, at this point in time, that has become a lost art. . . . In talking with persons who came 'long with my grandparents, many of them had tremendous knowledge of roots and herbs. They knew what to use them for. I have often regretted that I did not pick it up.

Bagneris feels that a broader and more balanced pastoral model for shepherding Black Christians "would appear to me as the way to go. We have to minister to the whole man." He says, "The teaching process is vital. . . . Much of Jesus' ministry had to do with healing. . . . A knowledge of healing is critically needed to counter the problem of charlatans."

Healing has been going on all along, although not in any structured sense. For the AME teaching is mandatory for denominational "traditions." Bagneris is aware of the deep cultural significance of preaching in the Black Church. "All preachers I have known loved to preach. In fact, one of the worst things people can say about a preacher is that he can't preach. This is particularly true for Black people." The AMEs are forced to reexamine healing because of its impact on other religious bodies:

> We no longer frown upon healing as we once did. The AME had been taught that the gifts of healing ended with the death of the Apostles. Those gifts that were preserved for them. We are now rethinking that along with others. We are being forced at this point in time because of its acceptance by so many others such as the Church of God in Christ.

Bagneris believes that it is "absolutely necessary" for the contemporary Black Pastor to bring a balanced pastoral approach to shepherding Black Christians. Pastoral skills can make him more effective in preaching, teaching, and counseling. He says, "The Black Pastor has always been a counselor without portfolio. . . . He is now becoming a counselor through training. Through sheer instinct and God-given abilities he has had certain insights. Pastoral counseling can help achieve a wholistic goal in ministry. This is important for a pastor like Bagneris. "We are rediscovering the Old Testament concepts of man being a whole rather than the Greek concept that he is divided into parts." Counseling helps to fulfill the priestly role.

The prophetic role "becomes a must" for pastoral balance. The Black Pastor must deal with social structures and political systems. "The Black Pastor has always used the puplit to address himself to social sins. He has always tried to do that because he becomes a part of whatever it is in that community. He's on the cutting edge. Bagneris speaks out from his experience and practice. "The Black Preacher still operates through the AACP, Urban League, and new organizations like SCLC, started by the late Dr. Martin Luther King. He has also expanded his ministry to where they accept him in various communities to sit on important boards."

Preaching is primary for the prophetic role in the Black Church. More teaching needs to be done and healing certainly occurs where pastors work in unison with helping agencies in the Black community, for the social and political health of the race. This is in keeping with Pastor Bagneris's wholistic outlook. "We have to see man as a whole, not as fragmented. We have to meet all his needs." Preaching, teaching, and healing are inseparable. "I find it difficult to separate them. They are interdependent upon each other."

Bagneris's views are difficult to reconcile with his own pastoral posture. He is primarily a preacher. Preaching is his strength as a practicing pastor, but he feels a need and responsibility to develop pastoral skills in teaching and healing. "I am strongest as a preacher. I am trying to improve my techniques in the other two."

Unlike many pastors of his generation, Bagneris is rare. A successful pastor and popular preacher, the bulk of his academic/professional training has come in the twilight of his years. That's why he says: "We have been doing this thing all along unconsciously, but we are now conscious of what we have been doing. We are trying to improve and define techniques." Bagneris, a son of the Black Church and the culture of his people, is keenly aware that regardless of any attempts "to improve my techniques in the other two," to his people and to himself, he is a preacher first and foremost.

View of an African Methodist Episcopal Zion Pastor

Fred Hubbard is forty-four years old, and has pastored six churches in twenty years. Each pastorate was in California. He now pastors Second African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Los Angeles, California. While pastoring, at the same time, he works for the State of California, County of Riverside, in the field of Gerontology and Social Services. He studied extensively at the University of Southern California in programs on Gerontology. He earned certificates in Gerontology, and holds state and national memberships in his field. He is a graduate of Bossier High School in Bossier, Louisiana. Theologically, he is a conservative.

Hubbard is convinced that "the Black Pastor sees himself as a preacher." He considers that as his most important asset, "The Black

Pastor sees himself as growing into being the type of preacher he wants to be rather than the type of pastor he needs to be." He adds:

> Being listed with the great preachers and evangelists of the day is always in the backside of their minds. They really want to be noted for their preaching. There is an old saying in the Black Church, "Let the people say anything they want about you, but do not let them say you can't preach." I think that about sums it up. They feel that if you can't preach you can't make it in the Black Church.

The pastoral type is needed in the Black Church more than the preacher type. The pastoral type takes longer to develop insofar as personal maturity in the pastorate is concerned. Hubbard feels, "The great pastors have messages that come to people time and time again through the week and make them stop and realize what they are doing with their lives. I think we grow into the pastoring part of the ministry. We are going to have to teach people more about their individual lives and how it works in the home."

A lack of academic preparation and the threat of those with such credentials appears to be a fundamental reason behind the Black Pastor's lack of commitment to the teaching ministry. According to Hubbard, "The Black Pastor is not prepared (academically) to teach. Now a teacher coming into the Black Church where the pastor is not qualified to do Bible teaching is going to have nothing but opposition and he will probably be run away from that particular church. We don't deal with teaching too much."

The problem with teaching is also reflected in the pastor's use of literary resources. "He does not put emphasis on literary resources to help develop him into the type of minister that he should be, whether it be preaching or teaching, especially teaching."

On the healing ministry the AMEs have not emphasized it for reasons of fear and/or lack of knowledge.

> The Black Pastor sees himself more in the preaching line than in the healing line. He could be afraid to deal with healing. The Scriptures plainly teaches that if there is any sick among you, let them send for the elders. He shys away from that part of the ministry. First of all he does not have the knowledge of it, nor the God given gift of healing. He may encourage from

> time to time people who have healing ministries to come in and run a meeting.

The healing ministry must be entered into through study, prayer, and a careful search of the Scripture.

> The educational level of the people and their willingness to accept the different doctrines of the church is a factor as to whether the pastor will practice healing. We have in our church a few people who are involved in healing, annointing with oil, laying on of hands. Because I had seen too much trickery involved in it, I just had no faith in it, but then through study and prayer, I came to the point where healing is a part of the ministry, just as preaching and teaching. I believe they share the same basis in religion. We do annoint with oil. We do have healing ministries. We do cast out demons in the name of Christ. I believe in that type of ministry, but I had to come into that by much prayer, understanding, and searching the scriptures.

Hubbard says a more balanced pastoral approach in shepherding Black Christians is needed. "Yes the need is definitely there." He adds: "A combination of all the pastoral functions of the ministry is needed, and I don't see that right now in the Black Church." Many Blacks are leaving their churches because, at certain critical points, their needs are not being met. Hubbard says:

> Well, I think we're going to have to learn to do all three. We have people every Sunday morning that come to our churches who have these needs. If we simply speak to the needs of one or a certain group, then we are going to lose the rest. We are going to lose part of that congregation. Their needs are as varied as the individuals who are sitting in the audience, and you have to be able to preach, to teach, and to heal.

Hubbard strongly holds that "people are looking for a pastor who has all the different gifts and is able to pastor. I think as they get older, they look more for a pastor." There are several reasons for this development:

> The charisma has worn off and what they want is somebody to pastor them, to supply their individual needs. As they get older, they really develop problems that they need answers for rather than just the preacher to sustain them and make them feel good Sunday by Sunday. When they begin to face problems in life, then they need a pastor and they want a pastor.

Hubbard cites the Black family as an obvious example where a balanced pastoral approach would especially be beneficial. "I think it would benefit the total family life. We have been unable to stabilize the Black family." He says:

> His teaching ministry and his preaching ministry will certainly sustain family life. His healing ministry would give the added emphasis to the family being a unit and that unit can sustain and heal itself. The unit becomes part of the church family. Dealing with family situations, and hopefully we would be able to build families, which we have not been able to do. The race has never had a period where the family was actually a sustained unit.

Pastoral counseling would be helpful, but "very few of our ministers have the ability to actually counsel." Hubbard hastens to say: "That's not an indictment against the Black minister. He has performed well with the tools he had to work with, but when you get into counseling there are various approaches. We're just not prepared as a whole to counsel people." Hubbard continues:

> I know people who are good friends of mine and very good preachers, successful pastors. If it came to a counseling situation, I would be afraid to send people to them! I don't believe that they would be led to make the right decisions. They would get a lot of his prejudices, but to lead a person to make the right decision at that point in time is what counseling is all about!

The Black Pastor has been delimited in this prophetic role.

> When I was a boy they told me to keep politics out of the church! The church was no place for politics! I never accepted that! The Black Pastor's biggest mistake was not learning the system! Our people live and operate, within the system, and if we are telling them not to get involved in politics, politics is of the Devil, we are NOT letting the people who rule our lives do it to their satisfaction, without any opposition, because we are not saying anything about it! The pastor must be able to teach his people about the political realities of this country, especially where we live. If not, he is doing them a disservice.

Hubbard continues:

> What I was taught was to keep politics out of the church and preach the Gospel! The system can be dealt with, if we understand it. If we understand it, then, our ministry must be willing to educate the mind. We have to deal with the system! The only way we are

going to deal with it is when we can get our people comfortable working with the system.

The relationship between preaching, teaching, and healing is undeniable. Hubbard says, "When the minister explains the situation and gives an answer to a problem, he is preaching and yet teaching at the same time, possibly healing, too. When you are led to make a decision that takes care of a problem in your life, I think you have been healed. My ministry would be more in the healing and teaching part."

View of a Christian Methodist Episcopal Pastor

Johnny B. Reese, age sixty two, was born in Harrison County, Texas. He has pastored one church twenty-four years. That church is Ames Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in Los Angeles, California. His denomination began historically as the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. The name was changed in 1954 to remove any association with segregation. He is the first Black elected president of the Los Angeles Council of Churches. He graduated from Gregg County Training School (highschool), and did a year at Wiley College (CME school in Marshall, Texas; another year at Texas College (Black) in Tyler, Texas; and completed a B.A. in Business Administration at Pepperdine College in Los Angeles. Theologically, he is conservative.

Speaking out of his experience and denominational frame of reference, Reese says that "the Black Pastor majors in preaching." This is because of his desire "in proclaiming the Word to fulfill his call to the preaching ministry." However, "this does not complete the total commission of Jesus." This is what has been done 'traditionally.'" He says: "I feel that it is inadequate. Preaching is just a portion of the call. He [Jesus] set an example as prophet and priest. He not only taught with authority, but also administered to the needs of those he taught. When he sent his disciples out he gave them the power to preach, cast out demons, and to teach."

The teaching ministry is secondary in the CME church. An apparent reason for this is directly related to the fact that few of the men in Reese's group have had the advantage of a seminary education.

The same problem prevails in relation to the healing ministry, which "very few" practice, except "through prayer." Reese adds: "The CME church does not believe in the healing ministry as such. Most ministers will pray for persons they visit who are sick. They pray they will get well. Having real faith in their healing ministry, that God has called them to lay hands on the sick, and they will be raised, that's not prevalent. The emphasis has not been on healing, but the people need it just as much as they need preaching."

According to Reese, a balanced pastoral approach is exactly what is needed in the Black Church. The progress of the Pentecostal movement is enviable in this direction.

> There is a need. The new Pentacostal movement caused some of the ministers in the CME church to re-think the ministry and to include healing. Yet they only included it in a nominal way. They are not giving it the same emphasis as preaching. The main interest is still on how well I can preach. I think the people are suffering. Where you do not have healing people have not really received the full promise of God through Jesus Christ.

This is unfortunate because Christ has equipped his ministers to perform all of these ministries, and they will be held accountable.

> I am afraid that Christ will ask why we allowed many of the sheep to suffer without our healing, without our using the authority given by Him. He said, "Greater works will you do than these." He healed the sick. He did all these miracles. If He has given us the authority to do it, then He is going to want to know why didn't we do it since we are His representatives?

Black people would benefit from a balanced pastoral approach. Reese says: "Yes they can. People who have been through our kind of oppression will be benefitted." Reese feels the Pentecostals are making great strides in this direction. Pentecostals are "turning toward teaching and placing more emphasis on healing than the Black Methodists and Black Baptists."

Pastoral counseling can enhance a balanced pastoral approach. The priestly role is crucial in the shepherding of Black Christians. It is inherent in and a natural development of preaching, teaching, and healing. Reese says: "When he preaches, he counsels, when he teaches, he counsels, when he heals, he counsels. My Bible class every Wednesday gives me a great opportunity to counsel. Occasionally, I do use oil. Occasionally, I do lay hands on."

A balanced pastoral approach also enhances the prophetic role in addressing "[the] oppressive social system." Reese points out: "Where these things still exist in our society, I think the pastor is called upon to use words of warning." Reese believes that the ministry of preaching has been more effective in dealing with society, especially in the Black Church. Teaching is good in terms of developing effective strategies. Healing occurs for Blacks in relation to the system when they learn how to make it work to their advantage.

Reese is convinced that preaching, teaching, and healing interpenetrate each other; "All three go together. When Jesus gave the commission, he said preach, teach, and heal. He [Jesus] felt preaching is to proclaim the Word. Then we go to teach them how to live according to the Word. Then we got to heal them emotionally, spiritually, and physically."

THE VIEWS OF BLACK BAPTIST PASTORS

View of a National Baptist U.S.A., Inc., Pastor

Clarence Jefferson Davis is sixty-three years old and was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He has pastored three churches in twenty-six years. His early pastorates were in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Davis is pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in Santa Monica, California. Davis is an officer and leader in the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., Inc., at the associational, state, and national levels. He is a graduate of Ben Franklin High in Philadelphia and earned a B.A. from Chaney College in Chaney, Pennsylvania, and a M.Div. from Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton, New Jersey. He also studied at the Lutheran Seminary in Chicago, Illinois. He has numerous community commitments and is involved in civic leadership. Theologically, he is a liberal.

That the Black Pastor sees himself primarily as a preacher is related to his religio-cultural experience and the expectations of Black Church people.

> He's been reared in a tradition and culture where the people in the community of his life experiences see the pastor as primarily a man who preaches. He is molded by his culture. To break with that would presuppose some radical experience such as formal training, to which increasingly the Black Pastor is being exposed. Prior to recent years his experiences were largely cultural and limited in terms of formal training. We have more men who are being educated in standard seminaries. Men are being shaped and oriented so that this may be a fading centralization.

Teaching does not hold the same value for Black Pastors as preaching.

> He hasn't been taught to look at his function beyond essentially the Sunday morning worship impact. One of the great preachers in Philadelphia said, "If you didn't get it done on Sunday morning, it is unlikely that you would get it done period!" To specifically embrace the kinds of pedagogical techniques for instructing people in what is proper, the proprieties of Christian living, what the Gospel provides, Biblical interpretations, doctrinal, pastoral, and polity information is all crucial and essential. However, I don't think it is equated with preaching in the Black Church.

The problem with the ministry of healing is lack of knowledge. Davis says: "I think Karl Menninger said, 'The pastor is the best healer of the people.' This is far removed from the Black Pastor. I don't think the Black Pastor today knows enough about healing. I don't think he has done that kind of investigative work."

Healing is an unconscious by-product of the preaching event.

> The Black Pastor, as a whole, especially in the tradition of the Baptist church, where I am at home, does not see healing as a

> specific portion of his ministry. He feels it will happen as a kind of conclusion to the preaching experience and event. If he preaches good and the people hear him, they will get better.

Problems of intimacy related to healing make it hazardous.

> It is my feeling that Jesus touched more people and cared in more ways for people even in a mass situation. I don't think our churches and our systems are oriented to that kind of pastoral intimacy. Some of us are afraid of it. It's hazardous. It's perilous in some respects! There are some aspects of being too close to people that create for the pastor personal problems. There are situations where you have to delineate between the real care of a person and self-gratification. There are those places where one may not trust one's self in ministering in a healing context. That's an aspect that might trigger some retreat and cause reservations that require considerable experience and certainly a great deal of discipline and prayer.

There is a great need for pastoral balance in the Black Church. For many pastors, it may be idealistic.

> I have always been troubled by the idealistic conception of a life situation, because I dare say few people are born with gifts and with capacities to do these things which are ideally set. Now that may sound a bit cynical. I think there is a need always for the best to be brought to bear in our lives. I think ideally a pastor who can preach well, teach well, and who is a veritable worker with God toward bringing help and wholeness to people will always be needed.

Davis adds: "It would seem to me to be a big order." Allowances should be made for "recognizing that there is space between," even though one is using "Jesus as the grand prototype." He continues,

> Any good pastor at some point along the way can be referred to as a good pastor because of his preaching, teaching, and healing. Any member of a Black Church could say, if you did research with them, my pastor is a good preacher. I have learned a great deal from my pastor. I was in a situation where I was on the ropes, and my pastor was responsible for my liberation and healing.

This matter is compounded by the attitude of the Black Pastor's people.

> In many instances, pastors are not teaching in our churches because members are not teachable. They don't feel they need to be taught. In my church very few people have responded to my effort to teach them. Oh, you would have two or three people

> for a week or so. Then, finally, they would have something to do.

The will of God and the Holy Spirit is important in how one is directed and a recognition of one's limitation.

> If a man is freed to teach, freed to preach and freed to heal by the Holy Spirit, he won't worry if it will happen or not! It will happen! He will know that. It will depend on his understanding of whether he's doing the will of God. Some men may not have the same burden of spirit and yet be doing what God wants them to do. It is sort of presumptuous to preordain a certain kind of situation for everyone. Some men, on the other hand, will be extraordinary in that they may be able to do all these things. Jesus was extraordinary! He told us we would do some things even that he hadn't. Few people who will have the ability to be effective preaching, teaching, and healing.

A "need for this kind of pastoral care is undeniable. Any successful pastor today has in his basic makeup some degree of responsibility in these areas. Great preaching helps to teach people. Great preaching and great teaching help to clarify and smooth out rough places psychologically for people." Davis further states:

> Teaching can be gratifying depending upon the man's sincerity and ability to present himself as a teacher. Much of the Biblical text refers to the fact that Jesus taught them. The Sermon on the Mountain was a classic example of a teaching experience as well as the proclamation of the Kingdom. Great preaching will do some teaching and will do some healing. The emphasis here is on preaching, but not without regard and respect for the facilities, capacities, and exercises in these two other areas. Someone has written that the mind and the body lives so close together until they get each other's diseases. So if you do really help reorient one's mind aren't you at the same time healing them? The matter of the heavens opening brings to bare in one's life the Good News of the Kingdom and all of its effects on life that the person will be made whole who is broken and delivered from all of these external encroachments on the health and color and climate of their spirit.

The priestly role in counseling must have a Biblical base.

> We have to return to the place where the Bible is the basis for our stand. That all we do is Biblically substantiated. The Bible is the Word of God! It becomes counseling to people's lives when it is properly, responsibly, and prophetically offered. When a man is able to preach, he is able to because of

> what he is. He is a preacher. He is a shepherd. He is a counselor. A shepherd of the sheep not only talks, but touches. We don't just speak to people. We touch people. The staff comforts, gives direction. The sheep inadvertently nibbles out of the crowd, and the staff is crooked, so that you can gently catch him by the neck, touch him in such a way that he is brought back into the flock and into the concord and congress of the body. Teaching and healing are interrelated parts of what it is to really preach. Counseling is the same thing. If properly oriented, it's a sympathetic bringing into the consciousness of the person you are counseling Biblical truths interpreted in their life situation.

The prophetic role requires certainty of a person's inner spirit when confronting oppressive systems.

> Dr. Howard Thurman said, "One of the things that the Christian faith does for man is to so order his interiority so that he is preserved and saved from the forces outside which would lay waste his value. I can go back to World War II when I was shoved to the back of the buses and threatened by the circumstances of racial segregation and prejudice even as a member of the armed forces of the United States. I was called upon to give my life to honor a nation's creed that gave space for oppression and racial observations. When I put my duffle bag down in the street of Camp Lee, in the company of hundreds of Black soldiers, I was told by a white officer we were in a place where segregation laws were practiced and that we would have to be governed thereby. My Christian training and my faith in God kept my interlife so ordered that I was able to deal with that without being bitter, without running counter to the system."

It is profitable to know when and how to buck the system.

> Martyrdom is a part of the history of the world. There are those places where men have been martyred in such a way that their death and their sacrifice was a breakthrough for a move. It seems to me a matter of the wisdom of God, too. You have to know when it would be helpful and profitable to make certain stands, as did Luther or Martin Luther King, Jr., at Memphis. It seems to me to be a matter of proper orientation so that what I really feel is an example where a man, though oppressed, though pillaged, and maltreated knows that God is watching over him. He can exercise his response and his anger in ways that are creative. I wanted to get an education and I wanted to get the tools which wiuld be helpful in a larger and more expansive way for my people, and I knew the only way I could do that was to work within the context of this framework. I did successfully. It brought out for myself certain advantages and certain facilities in the midst of poverty, which is certainly the challenge that confronts the

> the church today. It's not much different. I hear people talking about we made great gains. With each gain there are counter reactions and the man is forever seeking to keep the status quo. As far as having the upper hand economically and otherwise in the movement of this nation, its wealth and its resources, he plans to be always at the front step.

Ultimately preaching, teaching, and healing become inseparable.

> The proclamation of God's love, the Good News, the liberating instruction of the "abundant life" provided from God to man is healing. It furnishes hope and provides liberation from brokenness. At the same time, it instructs us with regards to the methodology of dealing with life: wearing it as a loose garment, putting your values in order, placing first things first, God first, and so on. The proclamation of life is one and the same instructional and healing. The man who is caught up in this romance with life is in fact authentically speaking, a proclaimer, a teacher, and a healer.

His strength as a practicing pastor is a matter for the people to judge. However, because of certain traditional images, "People would say that I am stronger as a preacher."

View of a National Baptist Convention of America Pastor

William Brent, age fifty-two, was born in Franklin, Louisiana. He has pastored three churches in thirty years. His current pastorate is Evening Star Baptist Church in Los Angeles, California. He is an officer in his denomination at the associational, state, and national levels. He graduated from McDonald #35 High School in Franklin, Louisiana. He attended several colleges in the San Francisco Bay area, and received his B.A. from Conrow College in Conrow, Texas. He received a B.D. from San Francisco Theological Seminary, and a Ph.D. from the California Graduate School in Glendale, California. His community commitments are numerous. He is president of the Baptist Ministers Fellowship of Los Angeles, California. Theologically, he is conservative.

Brent acknowledges that "preaching for years has been the rod by which we measure a man." Brent relates this culturally to the emotionalism among Black people. The preacher will try and cater to this more than he would to a pastoral ministry. My ministry has been a pastoral ministry. I feel that my effectiveness has been because I am a pastor! However, among Blacks the man who is the preacher type is the one who will draw the biggest crowd!"

Black Churches need the teaching ministry just as much, if not more than preaching. Brent moves in this direction:

> I am basically a teacher. Practically all my church is built around teaching. My emphasis is on Sunday School. I have discipleship training classes. I have a seminary extension (Golden Gate Theological Seminary) at the church for laymen, lay ministers, and pastors.

Brent feels that "preaching" is not for Christians. It is primarily for those who are lost. For the Christian Church, "for my fellowship, where the church comes together, there ought to be nothing but teaching and training." He admits, however, "I am in the minority." Preaching is the strength of the Black Church, but at the same time points to its basic weakness.

> I am not trying to downcast the sermon! All good sermons require hard preparation and study. There have been some sermons that have been classified as good, but didn't require any study. The people thought they were good. There were one or two good words, a few choice words in the right place that sent them off into a wild emotional experience or what we call shouting. You can't do that in teaching. You have to come with a prepared lesson. There is no way for you to get by, if you want to teach. Once a church begins a teaching ministry and the people become conscious of it, you will have a good preaching ministry on Sunday and a teaching ministry through the week.

A related problem is the perennial plague of the Black Church, splits and schisms.

> One of the reasons why we have so many splits in our churches is because we have an uninformed church! Some of our great churches, where they have had great preachers, are the very churches that have the split. I don't know of any church where there has been a lot of teaching and there have been splits. It is better to have 100 informed disciples than have 500 uninformed members. A member comes to church. A

disciple is a learner in the church!

The healing ministry should be used simultaneously with preaching and teaching.

> I have always looked upon my ministry as a healing ministry. For the simple reason, on Sunday morning, I have people there who have problems. When I go to the pulpit, when I am coming to the pastoral prayer, that is the first thing I put in my mind. I want to place before the Lord the fact that we have people who are hurting.

Brent is disturbed by the lack of knowledge, exercise, and sensitivity to the healing ministry.

> I am conscious of the fact there are many pastors who are not. This disturbed me. The greatest disturbance I had was the Jim Jones incident. It affected me this way. I didn't have any of my members who were affected by Jim Jones. Thank God! Each person spoke of one thing that led them to his movement, the fact that they were healed. Everybody was healed. They got healed through Jim Jones. That hurt me! While none came from my church, some came from other churches in the neighborhood. Other pastors whom I know, my personal friends, I would ask why didn't they find healing in their churches? These were not sinners. These were people who were members of Baptist and Methodist churches--Catholic--that had a hurt which was not healed. Our ministry does not have the healing effect it should on our members in the Black Baptist church. The white and black in the Jim Jones incident spoke of the same thing!

Healing needs to be structured into the pastoral ministry.

> There can't be a pastoral ministry without healing. Counseling, healing, and feeding is the work of the Shepherd. In this church, we have saved people's homes. We have had men who had their homes in foreclosure. We have gotten them out. Some were members and some weren't. We just went out and helped them. Every church ought to heal its members, that is the hurt and pain that are there. This is why there are so many cults. Talk to people in these cults, you will find out that these cults give them healing!

Pastoral balance is an absolute necessity in the Black Church. Its installment will **lie** in the hands of the new, young, Black seminarians. Those who are willing to spend an apprenticeship under learned and experienced pastors, along with their training, will become sensitive to the shepherding dimensions of ministry. Nevertheless, Brent is convinced that most are still going "to specialize in preaching! There is no way for you to get a Black Preacher not to specialize in preaching."

For the pastor specializing in preaching, who is mobile and visible on the "revival circuit," the answer is a small congregation and multiple staff ministry where the church is large.

> No man can really pastor more than three hundred people. It is going to come to the same problem as with our white brothers. They have a staff of ministers. The pastor is the senior pastor, who devotes his time primarily to preaching. This is in the larger churches. We are about twenty-five years away from it, but we are moving towards it.

There are problems related to installing a multiple staff ministry because of the academic limitations and professional insecurities of many of the men who now occupy the Black Pulpit; they would be threatened by the younger, more highly trained men coming along.

> You have men pastoring in our larger churches who feel not qualified. For him to go out and get a man with a Doctor of Ministry, and himself only a Bachelor of Arts, would be difficult. Even though many men finished Bishop College, or other colleges, they didn't go to the seminary. That was all they had, and all they thought they needed. They are now pastoring members who have Master of Arts and doctoral degrees. He's afraid to hire a man to come in who may be a young seminarian. We are a long ways from that! We are going to have to wait until these seminarians become the senior pastors. They will do it! In the meantime, this leaves the people really without a shepherd.

Blacks can definitely benefit from a balanced pastoral ministry. Brent cites this as the initial reason for the tremendous growth of Black Churches. A more balanced pastoral ministry was once provided but now is lacking. "This is why they were able to build great churches. Men like John Jasper, who had not real basic training, so to speak, built a great congregation. His was a preaching, teaching, healing ministry! He was a pastor.

The priestly role becomes effective in counseling, which is inseparable from the total pastoral work. Brent cites his preaching as an example.

> There may be some problems that I know of in my church. I settle them without calling a meeting. Many times I have done this, and it happens through my preaching! I counsel the young children! I counsel the boys and girls through my preaching! With the type of preaching I do, it is hard to separate them.

The prophetic role requires that the pastor stand in the tradition of the great prophets addressing societal and systemic sins. Brent says, "When I look at prophetic preaching, I am looking at a type of preaching similar to John the Baptist. The prophets were the ones who upbraided the people for their sins. That's what got them killed!" Brent feels that a stern prophetic role must include healing the very societal and systemic sins it attacks, judges, and condemns.

> Now I think, along with that [upbraiding the people for their sins], the preacher in the Black community has to do more. His ministry has to include healing. On Sunday morning, he has more hurt people than he has sinners. There are people in my congregation I feel sorry for. They have to live in the city. More and more, it is getting so that if you don't have a law degree you won't be able to live in the city. There are so many new laws, so many new rules related to the structures in the system. So many people are out to get you. Here's a man who is a congressman who wants to get a raise. He is going to raise his salary to $47,000.00 a year. He is fighting like a bear and doesn't want to give the old people $261.00 a month social security. Now it costs him $47,000.00 a year to live, how in the devil does he think these people are going to live on $262.00 a month! Now that is what I call prophetic preaching. I preach about that! I upbraid them about their sins! I mention the various sins or what we call sins. But the main thing I am thinking about are the sins they have to live in.

Brent is adamant: "On Sunday morning, in our sermons, we must have some healing there." The interconnection between preaching, teaching, and healing is undeniable. While he feels that each ministry is inseparable in the total work of the ministry, he says: "My strongest point is as a teacher."

View of a Progressive National Baptist Convention Pastor

Bill Jones, age forty-five, was born in Louisville, Kentucky. He has pastored churches in Pennsylvania and New York in twenty years. He is President of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, which has a constituency of three million. He is pastor of Bethany Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York. He graduated from Dunbar High School in Lexington, Kentucky, received a B.A. from the University of Kentucky, a D.Min. from Colgate Richester Divinity School in Rochester, New York. He holds numerous civic positions, and chairs several boards on the local, state, and national levels. Aside from Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and Jesse Jackson, he is the most prolific but underpublicized Civil Rights leader in America for the past two decades. He is listed among the one-hundred most influential Black people in America by a recent 1979 poll of Ebony Magazine. Theologically, he is a liberal.

Jones is one of the highly sought after preachers in America today, a rising national and international figure in Baptist life and in interdenominational leadership. He feels that the heavy emphasis on preaching in the Black Church is rooted in the African heritage and its strong oral tradition.

> Preaching has been the primary function in the Protestant tradition for several centuries. Now, this is not peculiar to the Black Preacher. There is probably a greater emphasis presently in the Black Church than you find in other denominations, particularly white denominations. Black people are a people who have a long identification with oral tradition. This is one of the African carryovers. The Black Church, traditionally, like the clan and the extended family in Africa, has been personality centered, for reasons good or bad. The focus has been on the pulpit and the pulpit occupant.

Jones believes this to be "a strength and weakness. I have seen men use it for exploitative purposes. At the same time, I have seen it utilized to build community." The preaching tradition in the Black Church is so strong that it has rendered the teaching ministry coincidental.

> In most instances, whatever teaching takes place, even in the preaching function, is almost coincidental. The best preaching does have an instructional quality. Most of our preachers do not seek to be teachers. There is a school of thought that says a sermon should not be didactic. It is easier not to be instructive in my own preaching. There are many pastors who hold weekly teachers' meetings for their Sunday school. Teaching ought to be an integral part of every man's ministry. There are a lot of things one can deal with of a corrective nature. The emphasis in the Gospel and particularly in the Epistles is on the preaching function. The Bible says how shall they hear without preachers, and not how shall they hear without a teacher. One of the preacher's primary purposes is to draw people to Jesus Christ. It's teaching that can serve to preserve and to edify those who have been called.

The healing ministry is a by-product of the preaching event, and not a structured or conscious part of the work of the Black Pastor. Jones believes strongly in this ministry "in the sense of being the instrumentality about which the healing Word is pronounced, and in the sense of the preacher being a kind of mass therapist."

> I believe this kind of preaching takes place in a collective situation, where people experience healing in the way of answers and deliverance, whether it be physiological or semantic or psychosomatic. This is one reason why Black Church folk don't see the psychiatrist as much as white church folk. I have been told my preaching has therapeutic qualities. That which engenders confidence in hearers, confidence that allows them to face head-on the things that afflict them, with the assurance that they can overcome them. Now, I believe that a certain kind of preaching will reduce the length of the sick list. A lot of illnesses are psychosomatic. I am not talking about a thing that I have consciously and systematically scrutinized and evaluated. I have never sat down and prepared a sermon with this kind of thing in mind. But time after time, almost weekly, people come to me. I have had people make appointments to see me concerning serious straits that they were passing through, emotionally and physically. I have had some of the same people, and when I was unable to honor my commitment, come to me, after services and say, it's not necessary now. I got it this morning! Now I can't put down on paper some formula for this. I could not do it! I believe, furthermore, that kind of preaching cuts the mortality rate. I got people in my church who should have been gone a long time ago, but they are just excited about living and about days unborn.

Pastoral balance is necessary in the Black Church, but not at the expense of delimiting the preaching ministry. "A balance connotes that there will be a diminution of one. I am not in favor of a diminution of the preaching function. Of course, I would like to see the teaching enhanced." However, Jones admits to the following:

> It would be good to see a model where all three are done with felicity, with strength. It would be a big order to develop a prototype in one person. It would be exceedingly difficult, even though Christ is the model. We live in an order where other disciplines assume functions once preserved for the village chief, who was prophet, priest, and everything. Many pastors make an unconscious attempt to do that or it may be conscious. There are points where every man's ministry touches each in some respect.

Black Christians can benefit from a balanced pastoral approach. Jones reflects on latent but unconceptualized theologies, which have always been inherent in the Black religious experience.

> For some time, hardly any theology was valid unless continental theologians came up with it. A Crisis Theology, a Theology of Hope, has existed for ages in the Black religious experience. Black folks never named them. Black people have lived it. Black people benefited from it. The fact that these things have been a part of our experience explains what I could call a *healthy survival*.

Counseling should complement a balanced pastoral approach to a dialectical basis in the priestly and prophetic roles.

> It would serve an enabling function. It would move people from where they are in the direction where they ought to be. The best congregation is an informed congregation. An uninformed congregation is dangerous. I am convinced that if this could take place, it would strengthen the prophetic role. Prophetic preaching is a declaration which raises the voice of protest against individuals, against institutionalized iniquity where structures are evil and demonic. From a didactic standpoint or teaching, healing base, this would raise the level of awareness. It would shape the critical faculties, and cause people to raise provocative questions, not only about the nature of being and their place in the scheme of things, but also about forces in society that dehumanize life. It would further heighten their vision and deepen their sensitivity. The ideal is a proper dialectic between the priestly and prophetic. White churches have treated them as if antithetical. This means, in the final analysis, that their priestly

> functions aren't worth a damn. They have been the custodians of certain lies about a large segment of humanity and God's creation. There isn't anything healing about lies transmitted from generation to generation. Their priestly roles cannot contentwise be looked upon as a model. These white preachers don't have to do what we have to do. They don't have to fight the system. They don't have to deal with the victims. They are the victimizers. We spend most of our time fighting the system. We have to be prophet and priest. And its hell man!

Jones favors a ministry of specialization and cooperation between the Black Church and helping agencies in the Black community.

> A conscious pastor, utilizing the gifts of others, can bring all three to fruition in a given context, as in the multiple staff ministry, or in the creative use of resources in the Black community: mental health facilities, hospitals, Black medical societies, and Black people in education. The preacher must have no real problems with himself, recognizing his limitations and capabilities. He has to be comfortable with himself to affect this arrangement.

The Christ event means healing. "I think the ultimate purpose of the Christ event can be conceived of in terms of healing. Redemption is healing. Liberation is healing. Freedom is healing. In that sense preaching and teaching are serving a healing purpose!" Jones' strength as a pastor is preaching. He says, "In terms of the overall ministry at Bethany Church, we are consciously involved in the other two in indirect ways.

Though widely in demand outside his pastorate as a preacher, a denominational President, and an ardent Civil Rights leader, Jones, nonetheless, experiences some guilt for not fulfilling pastoral obligations at Bethany Church other than preaching.

> I didn't ask anybody to invite me to Australia, to India, where I was earlier this year, or to England, or to the Soviet Union. I would like to think that the Spirit of the Lord is Active in what is taking place. I don't go around asking for invitations. I feel guilty that this draws me away from my pastoral obligations, but my people tell me that they don't feel that way. Then, too, *they experience something vicariously*. Yesterday, a very dear lady, a faithful member of Bethany, was buried. I couldn't do the funeral. I would have loved to have done it.

In fairness to Jones, he is a son of Martin Luther King, Jr., and a contemporary prophet of the first dimension. The personality centered nature of the Black Church and its typical structure does not usually allow space for a staff of specialists. Jones agrees that normally if the Black Pastor does not do what is needed in the Black Church rarely does anything get done. He says: "That's true. I also think that's unfortunate."

THE VIEWS OF BLACK PENTECOSTAL PASTORS

View of a Church of God Pastor

Benjamin F. Reid, age forty-two, was born in New York City. He has pastored four churches in twenty-one years. His pastorates were in Illinois, Kansas, and Michigan. His current pastorate is First Church of God in Los Angeles, California. His denomination is the Church of God in Anderson, Indiana. He is involved in numerous community commitments, religious and civic. He graduated from a New York City high school. He received the B.A. from the University of Pittsburgh, attended Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago, Illinois, was awarded the honorary Doctor of Divinity from the American Bible Institute in Kansas City, Missouri, and the Ph.D. from California Western University. Theologically, he is conservative.

Effective preaching is mandatory for any minister who would survive in the Black Church.

> The Black Pastor is primarily a preacher! Floyd Massey, in *Church Administration in Black Perspective* said: The average Black congregation will forgive the preacher for doing any sin except for the sin of not being able to preach. I don't think any Black Preacher can be effective unless he is capable and forceful in the pulpit. I think that is built into the religious experience of the Black Church. Historically our beginnings as slave churches, the preaching exercise was our catharsis, our encouragement, our support, our moment of glory to prepare to go back to whatever it was that we had to face. Then we moved up to the time of segregation and discrimination. Though we were legally free, we were not actually free or equal. There, again,

> preaching instilled hope. The sermon and the dialogue between pastor and people made preaching paramount in the Black service.

The Black Preacher's self-perceptions and those of Black people are simply not those of a teacher or theologian.

> He sees himself as a preacher, an uplifter, and motivator, rather than the instructor, the teacher, the informer. Many times Black Churches had a rather shallow theology. We have tended to have a pragmatic theology. What works? What clicks? What helps? What equips the member to make it through another week? I don't think the Black Church, in general, has seen the preacher as a theologian, as a man to instruct in doctrinal depth. I don't think the Black Church has looked for that. There are exceptions, of course. Now that is not always true in Black Churches of the holiness persuasion. In many Black holiness churches, the pentecostal, the apostolic churches, there is a strong emphasis on the teaching of their particular set of doctrinal beliefs. But in the Black Church, the emphasis has been on preaching.

The Black Pastor sees the healing ministry as a natural consequence of the preached Word and in terms of its personal application.

> The Black Pastor sees himself as a healer through the uttering of the Word and through the application of the Word. The Black Minister is many times weak on interpretation, but strong on application. That is where he sees his healing function. He applies the Word to the sorrows, the troubles, the pressures, and the the tragedies of the lives of his members. Our church, of course, being among the Pentecostal persuasion groups, has always had healings as part of its ministry. Our emphasis is not on healing. For example, the Church of God has not produced the great faith healers as other pentecostal groups have. Healing has had a secondary emphasis in our church.

Pastoral balance in shepherding **Black Christians** is desperately needed today.

> Preaching has certainly been inspirational and helpful, but we have not really *dealt in depth* with the needs of our people. That's why in the urban scene, for example, where you have just hundreds of churches, storefront and otherwise, you have the highest crime rate, too. You have a growing suicide rate. You have growing cases of mental illness in the city. I don't think here we have ministered to the whole person. We are beginning to see that as much as the Black Church community loves preaching, that in itself is not adequate! We need a model of

> preaching, counseling, teaching, pastor, prophet, and priest. We need that now! We need it desperately!

The weakness of the Pentecostal movement is its inability to provide healing for psychic pain at a depth level.

> One of the weaknesses of the Pentecostal movement is that most of our healing is physical healing. We have discovered that there are hurts far deeper than physical pain. I think that's where the emphasis is about to change in healing physical pain, in healing the tremendous hurt and the disappointment and the struggles and the frustrations. Our young people are hurting. One of my old mothers comes to church and comes up to prayer because her arthritis is bothering her. A young person steps into the same healing line and walks forward for anointing and for prayer, because he is frustrated going through high school and some college and still not being able to get a decent job. The healing line is a regular part of our worship experience. When we have prayer-time in our service, I step out of the pulpit. I go down to the front of the church, anoint persons and will pray a very, very brief prayer. There are seldom less than a hundred who step into that line on any given Sunday morning, for anointing and laying on of hands.

Reid has discovered in his own pastoral practice at First Church that his teaching and healing ministry in conjunction with preaching ministry creates numerous counseling opportunities. This is the direct result of a balanced pastoral ministry.

> A balanced ministry changes your preaching emphasis. You are moved to try to apply your preaching to the needs of people as you become aware of them. People who are taught and begin to feel their religion in their mind as well as in the guts and the emotions tend to seek out further enlightenment. The largest aggregation in this church we have outside our Sunday services are our annual family enrichment seminars. Our people have become sensitized to wanting to be taught and then counseled. Our teaching and healing ministries create quite a few counseling opportunities, particularly for the people who want to follow up what happens from teaching and healing, the laying on of hands. So often after church a person I have prayed for will say, "Pastor can I see you for an appointment?" Most of the in-depth counseling I have had to do, and the rest of the staff comes from our teaching and healing ministries.

The pastor can be prophetic using a balanced pastoral approach.

> The once-a-week inspiration now isn't enough! The complexity of the problems that face our parishioners demands preaching, teaching, and healing. There are times, for example, in the laying on of hands service when I will address myself immediately to certain very distinct needs in that person. There are times when I think that's the work of a prophet, "Thou art the man!" as Nathan **said to David**. There are times in teaching that I am at my prophetic best. I am noted in our church for being extremely frank and open in my teaching ministry. In so doing, I feel that I can help people to go out and deal with the system. My preaching and teaching addresses these concerns, particularly in the areas of employment, in the areas of meeting discrimination of jobs, and in the areas of overcoming covert prejudices. I think that particularly the teaching and the personal healing ministry enables a person to get the equipment, the handles to go back and do that.

Preaching, teaching, and healing "complement each other." According to Reid,

> I don't feel there can be real preaching unless there is teaching. I don't feel that teaching precludes preaching. I think that healing results from both. Maybe from teaching comes a deeper level of healing. . . . I think they all complement each other. There are times my healing ministry sets people up for my preaching ministry, makes my preaching ministry more effective. If a person is hurting they are a lot less likely to be open to the preached Word. If I am sitting here wondering what in the world am I going to feed my children tomorrow, all the yelling in the pulpit about heaven doesn't do me very much good right then. But if I am exposed to the church's power to heal, even on that level, an economic level, then the teaching and the preaching become more meaningful to me. The pastor needs to be able to do all three, preach to them, teach them, and heal them

A survey taken in First Church of God was very revealing regarding his strength as a practicing pastor.

> We took a survey of our church a year and a half ago. If I remember correctly, 98% of the respondents said their initial openness came through the preaching. About 88%, however, indicated that their on-going relationship with this church has been a direct result of the teaching and healing ministries. The 98% said that they were attracted because they heard that Ben Reid could preach. They had been to a lot of other churches where the pastor could preach. After coming and staying a little while, and being exposed to the very strong teaching ministry, and being exposed to the healing, counseling, this is what has kept them here.

Healing and teaching ministries became vital alongside his preaching ministry in holding the people at First Church.

> I have pastored two large churches, one in Detroit and this one. I have seen this church grow from forty members to a church of nine hundred active members. We have been through what I consider three major crises involving the pastor. If the only grip you have on these people is preaching to them, they don't want to hear you. They are mad at you. I have discovered that where there is a strong teaching ministry, a strong shepherding touch, and a diffusion of discipleship training among other leaders, other than the pastor, when the crisis strikes, people remain loyal to the church, remain loyal to the Lord, remain open to the redemptive work of the Holy Spirit as he heals the problem as well as their own personal hurts. They remain!

Reid continued to reflect on what he has done to effect pastoral balance.

> What I have done is secure, equip and develop personal counsel in every area of human need. We have counselors for suicide, drug addiction, teen-agers, and marriage. We have counselors for senior citizens. I was led in this direction because of the inadequacy of the pure preaching ministry. I went to Detroit to Pastor a church shortly after the largest we have had in this movement split into four factions. The pastor was a prince of preachers. He was the greatest preacher we ever produced. Four churches came out of that one; none of which has done well. But this has been the tremendous traumatic result of a prince of a preacher who did not effectively balance his ministry, teaching, and healing. So I recognized then that just following the same tradition of just being a great preacher, and I am not a great preacher, but I emphasize my preaching ministry. I realized this wasn't enough.

He continues:

> The people had needs that had to be dealt with outside the pulpit. People needed dialogue. People needed an opportunity to respond directly. They needed the opportunity to say well, why? You are in the pulpit, you are telling me God will make a way. That's fine and I believe that. I feel all kinds of emotional jollys when you get through saying, "The Lord Will Make a Way Somehow." Then I go home. Someone says but I am still in this mess. If I am God's child and God loves me, why am I in this situation? I think this is why people have to have counseling. . . . I became very resentful of the personality centered cult nature of the Black Church. I promised myself

> that every church I pastored would have enough lay leadership that when I left that church, it would not fall apart. I am quite proud of myself because all three churches I have left are stronger now, much stronger now, than when I left them.

View of a Church of God and Christ Pastor

Charles E. Blake, age thirty-nine, was born in North Little Rock, Arkansas. He has held two pastorates and one co-pastorship in fifteen years. His first pastorate was in Georgia and the other in California. He is currently pastor of West Angeles Church of God and Christ in Los Angeles, California. His denomination is a branch of the Pentecostal movement. He is a leader in his denomination and on several boards related to theological education. He is a graduate of San Diego High School, Cal Western University (United States International) in San Diego, and received the M.Div. from the Interdenominational Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia. Theologically, he is conservative.

While preaching is heavily emphasized in the Black Church, Blake is forced to question the Black Pastor's commitment to it, based on an observed lack of preparation. "Sometimes I wonder whether some Black Pastors really see preaching as the primary focus of their ministry, especially as I've observed the amount of preparation and thought that they give to the matter. In many cases, it is tremendously inadequate."

Many put a heavy emphasis on preaching, while giving little attention to other ministries. Blake says that in the worship life of the Church of God and Christ, the service does not always move toward the climactic event of preaching.

> You must realize about our group that much can go on in a worship service that is essential and important. Our churches will come together and the worship experience will become so active and vital that they never get around to preaching. They will sing. They will shout. They will dance. Ministers will pray for those who are depressed or sick or distressed or somehow have the feeling of being bound. The laying on of hands

> will take place. When all of this is over, time is just gone. They will say, we have had a fantastic time. Let's go home. For many, the matter of praying for people and ministering to them in the worship service can even take preference over the actual act of preaching. They will come and say, Let the Lord have his way. Maybe the Lord wants to minister to you in a way that I wouldn't minister to you, if I were to preach a sermon. Sometimes tongues will be spoken and interpreted.

The Black Pastor does not perceive the role as a teacher. The real difference in the Black Church between teaching and preaching may be one of style. Teaching may be more the responsibility of other people in the church.

> I don't think the Black Pastor sees his function as that of a teacher. Preaching is proclamation of the Gospel with the objective to insight--a response on the part of the individual either to accept Christ or to become more definite in their commitment. Preaching, on the other hand, is when you tune-up. Teaching is not only the turf of the minister but many persons in the church. Teaching, per se, does not always have as its objective conversion or the intensification of dedication, but it is the sharing of religious knowledge and other forms of knowledge that the individual can appropriate. In that sense, I don't feel that this is the focus of a big number of Black Pastors.

Blake lists several reasons why teaching is not "the focus of a large number of Black Pastors": "They lack the training. They lack awareness of the needs of individual members of the church to be really enthusiastically involved in a problem."

While the healing ministry has a strong emphasis in his denomination, Blake is cautious to dissociate himself from the sensationalism and commercialism of certain popular "faith healers."

> There is a very strong emphasis in the Church of God and Christ on healing, on spiritual ministry to the individual, on deliverance, emotional, deliverance of the individual. I personally have become hung-up about it, because of what I feel is an inordinate emphasis on the matter of faith healing by some individuals who are not members of our denomination. It has caused me to fear being identified with them. Nonetheless, I do believe in healing. That God can do anything He chooses. In many cases, He chooses to heal. Yet I don't believe He is an errand boy, ready to jump every time we snap our fingers.

Pastoral balance is necessary. Preaching, teaching, and healing can complement each other:

> Preaching is essential and indispensable. At the same time, there is a need for instruction. Not only on the part of the minister, but provided by other persons in the church. The member of the church will not only be converted, but equipped and disciplined to convert and instruct others. A church that attempts to operate and relate to people without being concerned about their physical and emotional healing does them an injustice. This is why people come to church.

Blake responds to the popular belief that in any Black Church folk attend church to hear "good preaching" and "good singing."

> It may be that they might come to church for "good preaching" and "good singing." It is equally true they won't survive for long on such an inadequate diet of just good singing. Preaching can be healing. Teaching can be healing, if you provide me with a capacity to deal with those things that are hurting me. Through your preaching and your teaching, you are healing me. A person will not survive for long when they are hurting and when they are sick, if they are not being healed.

Pastoral balance is mandatory for persons who have been scarred psychologically and socially. It is a large problem in many Black Churches that people are not healed. Blake says:

> If they are scarred, if they are hurting, then any ministry to them that doesn't include healing their wounds, dealing with their hurts, compensating for their deprivations, their inadequacies, again does them an injustice. This is a large problem in many Black Churches. The fact that a man like Jim Jones, who tried to create an atmosphere of belonging and love, healing and fulfillment, some higher social order, could succeed so readily, means that in too many cases, there were Black people who were not getting what they needed in the traditional churches. They left the situation for one where they thought they would be healed.

In ministering to the wounds of Black Christians, counseling is helpful in the priestly role.

> Counseling can take place in those areas as long as one assumes the perspective of the counselor. The feelings, the thoughts, the problems of the individual are focused on as one preaches, teaches, or heals. In preaching, many times, an experience that has been presented to me in counseling an individual is discerned to be reduplicated in the lives of hundreds of

> individuals. Without revealing the individual or the specific situation I address the matter in preaching from the individual's point of view, sharing his responses and feelings about the problem. I bring the Biblical point of view--to assist other individuals in dealing with the problems of a similar nature in preaching and teaching. The same in healing, too.

For Blake, counseling and healing are synonymous:

> Healing, in many cases, is counseling. You heal by counsel. That a person comes to you hurt and by allowing them to share and to pour out themselves is healing. You provide alternative responses, allowing the individual to evaluate the alternative responses, to find the responses most meaningful to them.

Appropriate attitudes and accurate self-perceptions are also important for healing.

> The laying on of hands in prayer is only one form of healing which would not be effective to a person whose hurting or sickness was based on an inappropriate view or perception of himself or of his environment. In many cases, knowledge has to be corrected, and attitudes have to be corrected before healing can take place. This necessitates counseling or dealing with those things in preaching and teaching.

It is easier to assume a prophetic role in preaching and teaching than in healing.

> Or course, it's much easier to involve this focus in the area of preaching and teaching. A minister must address the issues of his day in preaching and teaching to be relevant. In the area of healing, as far as prophetic work is concerned, it is advisable that the prophetic role also has its expression in healing. O. Howard Mower indicates that in many cases emotional sicknesses are the result of guilt based on actual misdeeds the individual has committed. Healing can only take place when the individual is brought to repentance. Healing is the consequence of an awareness of wrong and repentance for wrong. The minister, who from the Freudian point of view, tries to accommodate the evil impulses, unacceptable impulses, Biblically, if he does not bring the individual into view of his wrongdoing, he loses his capacity to act as a healing agent. That would be prophetic.

Healing occurs in relation to systemic structures when the minister "focuses on those conditions rather than the illness that is afflicting them. Healing occurs when you thereby seek to eliminate the cause of the sickness. Preaching, teaching, and healing can take place within each other. Preaching is the thing that I do best. I would prefer to be as effective healing and teaching as preaching. When I preach much teaching is going on. Healing and liberation and deliverance are taking place."

View of an Apostolic Assemblies Pastor

Ralph Lewis, age fifty-two, was born in Columbus, Ohio. With his family, he founded and has pastored Mount Zion Apostolic Church in Los Angeles, California, for fifteen years. It is affiliated with a branch of Pentecostalism called Apostolic Assemblies of the World. He is active in his denomination. He graduated from East High School in Columbus, Ohio. He attended Howard University in Washington, D.C., and Pasadena City College in California. He earned the B.A. and M.M.A. from La Verne University in La Verne, California, and the American Baptist Seminary of the West in Berkeley, California, respectively. Theologically, he is conservative.

Preaching is not only a ministry but is equated as the role of the Black Pastor. This is the most important aspect of his role. This relates to the fact that the most visible aspect of the ministry is in the pulpit. To have acceptance of one's contemporaries, as well as the people, there must be an acceptable level in the pulpit. However, there may be a shift in his denomination toward focusing on the caring dimensions of ministry.

> There is a widespread awakening in our group that preaching has probably received more credit than it is due. There is an emerging understanding of the importance of caring for people. This is happening now. It took place in the past, but not with as much awareness. There is a more conscious effort now.

The teaching ministry, in the past, was rarely considered. Here, too, a shift in attitude is occurring in Lewis's denomination.

> In the past, teaching was not considered to be essential to being successful in the ministry. This was probably due to the fact that he was preaching. There was probably an overemphasis on preaching--and that preaching the Gospel could meet

> all needs. Or it may have been due to the fact that in our tradition we lay stress not so much on articulation but on emotions. It was often assumed that emotional demonstrations solved the problems. The problems were still there though. There is now emerging that the pastor must function as a teacher, too.

The healing ministry was the result of unconscious efforts. "This took place at a conscious level. It was what they were about. I don't know if they considered it so much healing or simply shepherding the people of God, helping them to hold onto their beliefs, and to be able to successfully encounter various stages of life.

Louis has found it helpful to structure his healing ministry at Mount Zion.

> Divine healing of the body, whether mental or physical, is one of the pillars of our doctrine. We have *deliverance services*; where prayer is offered, we teach our people to expect God to heal them. It is expected among the people that it can be revealed at any time, and most of the time, when you go into the service, whenever prayer line is called. There is a great number of people coming forward, sometimes half the congregation. One of the ministers, maybe an evangelist or pastor, will let it be known that I am now going to offer prayer for those who are sick. Sometimes they will call for those who have burdens and problems. It is a calling for all who have a need. Those who come might line up in single file. In a case like that they are usually anointed with oil and the one that is praying will more than likely lay hands upon them one by one. Another aspect of it is that they might come and be asked to simply stand before the altar and be anointed with oil. One prayer is offered on behalf of all of them. This is not as popular as the single line, where they are prayed for individually.

Healing is a vital part of Lewis's pastoral practice.

> On Sunday evening, I will pray and lay hands on parishioners individually. Healings have taken place. I can name a number of conditions; high blood pressure, low blood pressure, and migraine headaches. However, our ministry has not moved into the area where the crippled have walked or the blind have seen. I prayed for a young lady with four children who had been taking medication for high blood pressure and it completely dissipated. Another young lady had an asthmatic condition for a number of years. I prayed for that and she was healed. I had a couple with a baby who, according to x-ray doctors, had a hole in her heart. I prayed for that child. They went back

> and subsequently the x-rays showed no hole. I have prayed for those who stuttered, and they have stopped stuttering.

Pastoral balance is necessary for shepherding of Black Christians, particularly young people.

> The people need to be motivated to realize their potential. One reason why many young people have not responded to the church as their parents did is because there has been a lack of demonstration on caring. It may also be one of the reasons that denominations such as the one I belong to have had an attraction to those from the historic churches [Baptists and Methodists].

Pastoral balance is beneficial to a people that have suffered deep psychological and social scars. Lewis says: "If they need healing, I think that must come. Of course, I believe that preaching is the cement that holds all this together."

Counseling fulfills the priestly role and is "the responsibility of preaching to the needs of people on a group scale. In counseling, teaching is very helpful in being able to deal with problems." A natural correlation is between counseling and physical healing, as practiced by Lewis.

> I pray for someone that has diabetes. I believe God can heal it. At the same time, I ask what are you eating? Are you watching your diet? What does the doctor have to say about it? I do this particularly when people have high blood pressure. I ask, are you eating pork? Are you staying away from salt? I want to know about their anxieties.

A pragmatic approach is required to fulfill the prophetic role in dealing effectively with the system.

> We must help our people to cope more effectively with the system. It must be as pragmatic as teaching a young man how to survive a racist police department. For example, you sit them down and say here is the way. It is all right to be brave. It is all right to have courage. But there is no point standing up to the policemen when the two of them have you pinned in the alley. We ought to teach them how they can move through the system without becoming a victim. . . . I also think we need to teach our people to deal with the merchants, and how to deal with healing in the community. Special attention should be

> given to the fragile Black male's ego, which I think is very important.

Lewis is pessimistic about the system.

> I have little hope for changing the system. We can neutralize the system. For example, one way is to make a distinction between those who have criminal records because of the injustice in the system and those who have records because of antisocial behavior. We must let them know that we make a distinction. We can neutralize them by demonstrating that what the system says is not our assessment.

Lewis believes that the relationship between the system and Black self-esteem is critical. It needs to be countered by a tough and healthy acceptance apart from the White society. We have to teach our people that we don't need their approval.

Lewis is concerned about Blacks having their expectations raised.

> It only raises our expectations. As far as I can see, they are still unfulfilled. I am not saying, I don't trust those who must be changed to really give us standing help. I think the record bears out that the Black man, as far as compensation for occupations is concerned, is still losing ground.

Blacks must take responsibility for changing and shaping their own intrapersonal attitudes towards the system.

Lewis says:

> As far as the approval of the White man is concerned this must be a mutual thing. If we get it, all right. If we don't we don't need it. We must stand on our own. For years we have told our folk, if you get an education, if you clean up, if you carry yourself right, you'll be accepted. We have become superworkmen. We have straightened our hair; changed our speech; done a lot of other things; denied our own roots, our own personality; still he will not accept us. So I am saying that it is time to stop it!

The ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing overlap, whether the pastor is involved in a prophetic or priestly role.

> They overlap in ways they can't be separated. When one is preaching, if that which is being expounded is worthy of the

> time and effort involved, it should contain both teaching and healing and vice-versa. The proclamation of the Gospel, whether it is to change the system or to strengthen an individual, requires teaching and healing to demonstrate the love of Jesus in our action.

As a practicing pastor, "I am perhaps strongest in preaching. . . . It may be because I give that more attention. I am searching for excellence in every way."

SUMMARY

The preaching ministry receives major emphasis in the Black Church, which is a religio-cultural development, an African carry-over from the oral tradition of Black people. Black preachers love to preach and Black Christians love to hear preaching. Black Pastors consciously and unconsciously want to be listed with the great preachers or evangelists. This often excludes other ministries. A reading of the New Testament, especially the Epistles, and being within the Protestant tradition, has contributed to this development. It is also connected with emotionalism in the traditional Black Churches. A pastor's survival in the Black Church more often than not depends on a high level of performance in the pulpit. A critical problem here is academic preparation for the Black Pastor. The Black Pastor, however, is increasingly being exposed to education. Other factors are role image and that preacher and people are culture bound. Popular preacher appeal, self-esteem, and ego satisfaction are psychological reasons. Personal salvation is the pervasive religious motivation.

A stronger teaching ministry in the Black Church is a serious need. Many Black Pastors and Christians are threatened by those with academic credentials. Teaching is employed mainly to perpetuate denominational traditions, polity, and doctrinal beliefs. The lack of a college and seminary education among the majority of Black Pastors is related to the limited emphasis on teaching. The Black Church currently needs more teaching, which is crucial to curtailing splits and schisms. The teaching ministry is demanding but coincidental in the traditional Black Churches. Pastor and people may not want to be taught, but teaching serves a corrective purpose. It also takes place in preaching. Pastor and people should train and share the teaching responsibility. In the Black Church, other people do most of the teaching. Teaching and preaching may be a matter of style and can be indistinguishable. An emerging attitude suggests that a larger commitment to the teaching ministry in the Black Church may be in the making.

The historic Black Churches lack knowledge of the healing ministry, which the Pentecostal movement is increasingly assuming. The healing ministry has been frowned upon, associated with the New Testament Apostles, and the African Priest, Medicine man, or slave preacher. It requires study, prayer, and a careful understanding of Scriptures. The healing ministry has been misunderstood, abused, and commercially exploited. Many Black Pastors simply do not have faith in its practice. It may be hazardous for reasons of self-gratification and intimacy. Nonetheless, there are more hurt people in a given congregation. Healing is a by-product of preaching in the historic Black Churches. The Pentecostal movement, while heavily into physical healing, needs to recognize the need for psychic healing at a depth level. Sensitive Black Pastors fear associations with certain popular "faith healers." Pentecostal groups structure healing into their worship life. The historic Black Churches have relied mainly on prayer.

Pastoral balance is lacking in the Black Church, but is desperately needed. A wholistic outlook and a commitment to the Great Commission of Jesus is required. Few Pastors may be equally effective preaching, teaching, and healing. Still, every pastor's ministry should touch each ministry. The young Black seminarians may bring pastoral balance into the Black Church and develop a multiple staff approach. Healing agencies in the Black community can be taken advantage of. Pastoral balance is the key to holding a healthy congregation together.

The Black Pastor has fulfilled the priestly role as a counselor without specialized training. Counseling opportunities are created through the ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing. The Bible is the basis of the Black Pastor's stance to counseling. Counseling and pastoral work are inseparable. It becomes an enabling function, and is an opportunity to deal in depth. Trained counselors to work alongside the pastor can reach more people and a variety of needs. Counseling is effective when moving from the individual need to the Biblical answer.

The Black Pastor has fulfilled the prophetic role by working with established Civil Rights organizations. Mixing religion and politics can be a problem in the Black Church. Pastor and church should confront oppressive systems, but it is profitable to know when to buck the system. In the prophetic role, the pastor is direct and honest. Prophetic application is easier through preaching and teaching than healing. The pastor identifies with the Biblical prophets and speaks out against individual, group, and systemic sins. Pragmatic solutions are necessary in handling sensitive, dangerous, and difficult problems related to society and its institutions.

Preaching, teaching, and healing interpenetrate, support, and complement each other in shepherding. Most Black Pastors consider preaching their strength, but not without recognizing the need to improve other ministries. There is room for the pastor who is a specialist, but not without regard for other ministries, persons, and resources in the community.

That the Black Pastor's commitment is to the preaching ministry, and the teaching ministry is coincidental, points to a need for a broader model. The healing ministry is not structured through worship or formal counseling in the historic Black Churches. It is a by-product of the preaching event, and this points to the need for a broader model.

The dialectic between the priestly and prophetic pastoral roles and how the ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing interpenetrate each role points to the need for a broader model. The Black Pastor is forced to be priest and prophet in shepherding Black Christians.

The once-a-week inspiration and catharsis that Black preaching alone once provided is now inadequate. Also, Black Christians cannot exist off "vicarious satisfaction" or the pastor's reputation and popular appeal. This will not meet their needs, help them to deal with the pressures of contemporary life, and is like living off of a liquid diet. The Black Pastor should work through the week like other men. The Sunday morning impact" is not enough to do what is required between Sundays. This is also true of "pastoring from the pulpit." More can be accomplished by pastoring through the week. To be sure, an uninformed church is "a dangerous church." The Black Church remains uninformed in many areas because of the lack of pastoral balance, which the pastor can provide through preaching, teaching, and healing, and being priest and prophet.

The function of the interviews discussed in this chapter is to confirm the need for a broader model of shepherding Black Christians. All nine pastors interviewed agreed there is a definite need for the contemporary Black Church to broaden its scope. The data herein are integrated into the chapters forming Part II of this dissertation.

PART II

TOWARD A MODEL OF SHEPHERDING BLACK CHRISTIANS

Chapter 5

THE SHEPHERDING OF BLACK CHRISTIANS

The Black Pastor is a Christian minister who shepherds Black Christians and is a practitioner of the Liberating Word of God in the context of the Black Church. The Black Pastor is called by a God of the oppressed and claimed by the total liberating ministry of Christ. It is the Black Pastor's primary pastoral responsibility to extend the ministries of Christ to Black Christians. Black Christians are people who were treated as nonpersons and who organized their own churches to find a reason for being and a sanctuary from oppression. To accept the pastoral responsibility placed upon the Black Pastor must involve being an instrumentality for the ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing.

SHEPHERDING AND THE PREACHING MINISTRY

The Black Preacher and Pastoral Authority

W. E. B. Dubois gave the following description of the Black Preacher: "The Preacher is the most unique personality developed by the Negro on American soil. A leader, a politician, an orator, a 'boss,' an intriguer, and idealist,--all these he is, and ever, too, the center of a group of men. . . ."[1] The comments of C.M.E. Bishop Joseph A. Johnson are worthy of comparison: "Man of God by calling--but often teacher, healer, carpenter, and undertaker by necessity."[2] Dubois and Johnson are reflecting on the pivotal role and the varied authority of the Black Pastor, which were inherited from the African slave preacher.

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[1] W. E. B. Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk (Greenwich, Conn: Crest Book, 1961), p. 41.

[2] Bishop Joseph A. Johnson, Jr., The Soul of the Black Preacher (Philadelphia: A Pilgrim Press Book, 1971), p. 11.

The contemporary Black Pastor is a direct descendant of the African slave preacher who was the key figure in the liberation of Blacks from slavery. Preaching was a ministry the slave preacher used effectively in bringing about their liberation. He proclaimed the Liberating Word of God and spoke to the realities of plantation life, especially in the "secret meetings" before dawn. From this background, the slave preacher received authority as the shepherd of Black Christians. The slave preacher's authority originated in the African heritage, became nurtured in the oral tradition of the slave community, where as the mouthpiece of a God of the oppressed this prophet-priest became an indispensable "unifying influence" for the health of the people.

According to Hicks, "The slave preacher found in his function and made it his priority to aid in the psychological survival of a people."[3] Effectiveness in preaching the Liberating Word of God or "telling the story" is still the key to the authority of the contemporary Black Pastor. Preaching the Liberating Word preserved the sanity of the preacher and Black Christians. Pastoral authority, therefore, with Black Christians is inseparable from preaching the Liberating Word.

The contemporary Black Pastor should continue to preach the Liberating Word to warn and protect Blacks from dangerous oppressors who destroy their personhood. The famed Black Pastor of Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York, Gardner C. Taylor, in How Shall They Preach, speaks of the pastor as a "watchman": All that the people ask is that the watchman will be faithful in what he or she does in the time made free by the work and care of the rest of the community, that is watch carefully and constantly the hills and valleys surrounding the community lest an enemy come upon the people unawares."[4] The Black Pastor's authority is related to being a faithful watchman for Black Christians from the slave preacher to Martin Luther King, Jr., and others.

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[3] H. Beecher Hicks, Jr., Images of the Black Preacher (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1976), p. 39. Cf. James H. Cone, The Spiritual and the Blues (New York: The Seabury Press, 1972), p. 17. "The essence of antebellum black religion was the emphasis on the somebodiness of Black slaves. The content of the slave preacher's message stressed the essential worth of the person."

The contemporary Black Pastor's authority is based upon the preacher's fidelity to the Liberating Word in the shepherding of Black Christians. In the sermon, the Black Pastor carries on the oral/folk tradition of Black Christians as their natural religio-cultural spokesperson. Through preaching the Liberating Word, the Black Pastor empowers and affirms Black personhood. Through preaching the Liberating Word, Black Pastors should continue to draw Black Christians into the community to make life livable for the oppressed. This is the Black Pastor's historic and religious heritage.

The Black Pastor is claimed by a Christ who has commissioned the preacher. This Good News for Black Christians is a message of liberation. The Black Pastor's authority is the consequence of a binding commitment to the oral tradition of Black Christians and the sacred story of God in Christ from which it came. The slave preacher spoke of God's activity in Christ, using the language of the slave community. Mitchell points out that effective Black Pastors who preach the Liberating Word are fluent in the oral tradition and native tongue of their people.[5]

The Black Pastor's authority is also part of the traditional image given the pulpit occupant in the Black Church. It is an authority that evolved from the tribal heritage of Africans and slavery, and finds its contemporary expression in the local Black Church. This authority was vested in the African king, medicine man, and priest. Some of this authority has been lost recently. Hicks says:

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[4] Gardner C. Taylor, How Shall They Preach (Elgin, Ill.: Progressive Baptist Publishing House, 1977), p. 79.

[5] Henry H. Mitchell, The Recovery of Preaching (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1977), p. 77 f. Cf. also Henry H. Mitchell, "Some Preliminary Reflections on Authority in Black Religion," The Journal of the Denominational Theological Center, 3, 1 (Fall 1975), 49 f. The Black Pastor's authority is directly related to the religio-cultural oral tradition of Black Christians and the extended Black family, the Black Church. The wise Black Pastor earns authority from the people before exercising it. Authority is also related to the oral tradition and the Bible.

> While we have moved away from the purely tribal relationship, there is still the need for the presence of enlightened authority within the Black religious community as well as within the Black community as a whole. *Authority, in the sense of caring responsibility,* was a function/image of the African tribal chief and it is yet a viable function/image for the contemporary Black preacher.[6]

Hicks continues:

> The Black Preacher as leader must reassert his legitimate function, born in the soul and sense of the Black slave preacher. He must again become the community chieftain with a world of leadership sometimes wider than his vision and exceeding his grasp. He must assert his authority without being authoritarian, remembering that *his strength is conferred by the people and must be used in their behalf;* he must be the mobilizing force that is able, through the power of the Gospel, to lift people to higher levels of dignity and respect.[7]

That the contemporary Black Pastor has lost some historic authority is directly related to a disparagement of pastoral work. The typical Black Preacher wants to preach. The "caring responsibility" Hicks speaks about is born of the tedious and obscure work of the Christian Shepherd. The Black preacher can "reassert his authority" by being more than a preacher to the people. The Black Pastor's initial historic role demanded more than a preacher, as the slave experience showed. Many Black preachers are not unlike the ancient Egyptians about whom Jefferson speaks: "The work of the shepherd was an abomination . . . to the ancient Egyptians, and so it is to all pulpit Pharaohs who are interested in building pyramids out of eloquent words."[8]

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[6] Hicks, p. 85 (italics mine). [7] Ibid., p. 88 (italics mine).

[8] C. E. Jefferson, The Ministering Shepherd (Paris: American Expeditionary Forces, Young Men's Christian Association, 1912), p. 12. Cf. the Jefferson classic with that by Richard Baxter, The Reformed

Unfortunately, many Black Pastors have been inclined to isolate preaching the Liberating Word from the pastoral context. Much Black preaching is done in an evangelical as opposed to pastoral context, principally because of heritage, emotional appeal, and level of the masses. The preaching which helped Blacks survive slavery and maintain psychic balance, however, was based on an intimate, ongoing, and nurturing relationship between God's mouthpiece and the oppressed. When the slave preacher preached, he preached as a tribal chieftain, a leader of the extended Black family, and as a father figure.

Preaching is designed to tell the story of Jesus and his teachings based on oral traditions from those who had known him. This factor gave the Apostolic preachers their authority. They proclaimed the Gospel to those who had not heard it, but who came to accept it as true. The Gospel is universal; its authority touches all. A claim is laid upon the preacher. God is the author of the Black Pastor's preaching and his ultimate authority in speaking the Gospel to the oppressed. To preach is to proclaim the Liberating Word as accomplished in the liberating ministry of Christ. This is a vertical and horizontal relationship which is alive in the pulpit and becomes a living encounter where people meet each other outside the pulpit.

John Malcus Ellison, who taught several generations of Black Pastors at Virginia Union Seminary in Richmond, says the preacher's authority is also a matter of ethical responsibility in his own life and the quality of his mind. Moreover, authentic preaching is inseparable from pastoral work. Ellison says, in They Who Preach, "The authority of the preacher is further strengthened by his loyalty to

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Pastor (Carlisle, PA: The Banner of Truth Trust, n.d.), pp. 53f. While hailing the work of preaching, Baxter also warns against a ministry that isolates preaching to the exclusion of pastoral work. See also Richard H. Niebuhr, The Purpose of the Church and Its Ministry (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1977), p. 69: "Ministers have derived their individual authority to preach, teach, lead worship, care for souls and perform their other offices from the Church and Scriptures."

the work of the ministry."[9] Pastoral work is what gives the Pastor authority to preach the Liberating Word to others, especially to those labeled inferior. Preaching the Liberating Word to Black Christians teaches them that through their Pastor a God of the oppressed is intimately and deeply involved in their struggles.

The late Daniel Day Williams wrote about the "servant" dimension of the Pastor's authority.[10] As Christ's representative, the pastor becomes a servant in dealing with the personal and the spiritual realities of the people's lives. The ability to do this requires experience, maturity, and the sacrificial spirit of the Christian Shepherd. The slave preacher's strength was in relating to the personal and spiritual realities of plantation life. This reiterates the responsibility of the contemporary Black Pastor to Black Christians and to a God of the oppressed. This explains the Black Pastor's authority born of an identity and involvement in the "life situations" of Black Christians and the race.

Preaching and the Needs of Black Christians

Hicks says: "Black People are a people of the Word and, therefore, thrive on the proclamation of the Gospel."[11] Preaching the Liberating Word of God begins with the Black Pastor's ability to diagnose, get at the etiology, and prescribe treatment for the needs of

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[9] John Malcus Ellison, They Who Preach (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1956), p. 13. Ellison, a teacher of Black Pastors at Virginia Union Seminary, feels that most of the problems associated with Black preaching have to do with exhibitionism. Mitchell, also a teacher of Black Pastors, in The Recovery of Preaching, speaks of Black preaching as celebration. There is a fine distinction between pulpit exhibitionism and authentic celebration, although it is not always discernible.

[10] Daniel Day Williams, The Minister and the Care of Souls (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), p. 32.

[11] Hicks, p. 22.

Black Christians. The pastor asks the questions: What have we here? What is the cause? What is the answer? The Pastor's accurate description of the problems, causes, and solutions to oppressive ills which afflict Black Christians is correlated with addressing their needs. This requires pastoral competence. Charles Kemp says:

> If a man is going to preach to personal needs, he has to know what the needs are. This means pastoral work. This means he must speak with understanding, the kind of understanding that comes only from involvement, from sharing the hopes and fears, the successes and failures, the sorrows and the aspirations of his people.[12]

Kemp continues:

> *If one is going to preach to human needs, he must saturate himself with the content of the Scriptures.* Many people speak and write of human needs. Novelists describe them, psychologists analyze them, and sociologists categorize them. The The preacher provides the spiritual solution as recorded in the Scriptures. This is his unique contribution.[13]

When the Black Pastor is called upon in the community it is because there are needs to be met. The Black Pastor is the natural leader through whom information has traditionally been funneled. The Pastor is a valued person because of being in tune with the people's needs. The Pastor accomplishes this, by and large, through preaching the Liberating Word. This strengthened the people's faith in their Pastor's competence and integrity as one "called of God." Pastoral competence lies in helping people deal with pressures of daily life and an oppressive society. Hamilton says"many Black worshipers, then and now, identify with the preacher because of his ability to fill these very important needs. He creates an atmosphere, putting his people in touch with God, in which pressures are at best momentarily lifted."[14]

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[12] Charles F. Kemp, The Preaching Pastor (St. Louis, Mo.: Bethany Press, 1966), p. 25.

[13] Ibid., p. 26 (italics mine).

[14] Charles V. Hamilton, The Black Preacher in America (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1972), p. 22.

In retrospect, there has been and remains a tension between the Black Pastor's ambitions and the needs of Black people. Slavery and its aftermath gave birth to talented Black preachers who could have chosen political careers, except for the pressing needs of Black people. This illustrates the tension between the prophetic and the priestly roles of the Black Pastor. Their great preaching ability, among among Whites as well as Blacks, provided them with privileges their less talented brethren did not have.

Hamilton puts this into historical perspective:

> Many Black preachers had a number of options--at least more than their less fortunate brothers in slavery open to them, but *they chose to pastor*. The decisions frequently were not easy, because then as now, for a people with so many needs, there were so many functions to perform. And this situation was aggravated when skills were in very short supply.[15]

This opposes the idea that Black Pastors were primarily "other worldly" in their preaching, overlooking the needs of this world for the next. Hamilton adds: ". . . while many of them emphasized the next world in their sermons, they also took care of persons, political, church-related relationships in this world."[16] The early Black Pastors not only met the needs of their people, but those of the wider Black community. The contemporary Black Pastor's ministry still demands that the needs of the Black Church and the wider Black community be addressed. The Pastor's preaching should reflect this concern. Ellison says it is a crucial part of pastoral work and supports the ministry of preaching.

> The . . . minister is understandingly aware of the problems and needs of the people who are at church Sunday after Sunday to hear preaching. He is not less concerned about other people in the community who may also have needs, though they are not regular members of his congregation. The preacher's preparation and outlook must prepare him for a full ministry.[17]

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[15] Ibid., p. 52 (Italics mine). [16] Ibid., p. 57.

[17] Ellison, p. 25.

Because of the wide variety of needs to be met in a given congregation the pastor must develop a mutual understanding with the people. Ellison adds:

> The preacher is confronted with the problems, then, of ministering to various spiritual needs in his congregation. He must be true to his own best, but he must *meet his people where they are.* He must be willing to understand them, even as he hopes that they will try to understand him.[18]

In essence, pastoral work means meeting people where they are. The Pastor then can more effectively preach the Liberating Word. The people need a balanced diet: messages on the great beliefs of the Christian church, the moral turmoil and interpersonal conflict, the disciplines and priorities laid upon those who commit their lives to Christ.

The traditional Black Pastor is influenced by the revivalistic tradition of Evangelical Protestantism which the Black church inherited from the white Baptist and Methodist missionaries during slavery. A basic weakness of this tradition is its isolation of the Gospel from the pastoral context in the name of "saving souls." Souls are saved not so much as a result of preaching in itself, but more specifically when preaching addresses the needs of the people. This takes place in the context of a meaningful, ongoing, nurturing Pastor-person relationship. Christ comes to us through the medium of the Liberating Word where pastor and people are in relationship with each other. Our deepest needs can only be met in relationships!

The people's health and the Pastor's sussistance from their care put both in an interdependent relationship. It is a God of the oppressed who will discipline those Pastors who exploit and neglect the people's needs, shattering them with splits and schisms. In The Minister and the Care of Souls Williams speaks directly to this point: "The authentic power to be a pastor to another is born out of living encounters with those in need."[19] Ellison says: "He is concerned about the needs of people in their total life."[20]

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[18] Ibid., p. 38 (italics mine).

Preaching to the needs of people transpires on a personal and group level between Pastor and people. Preaching leaves its most lasting impression when it addresses personal and group needs. Mitchell says preaching becomes meaningful personal experience for people when it addresses "their deepest existential needs as unique persons and groups of persons."[21] Preaching the Liberating Word in the Black Church is linked to the African oral/folk tradition. Meeting needs is crucial to the preaching dialogue between the Black Pastor and people when the goodness of God and life is affirmed despite oppression. This is one way preaching preserves the health of Black Christians. Black Christians "talk back" to the Pastor when preaching is relevant to their needs. The folk will "get with you!" Mitchell speaks of the primacy of need in preaching. "Preaching must speak to the human condition. However clever an idea, if it does not speak to a real need it is useless."[22] The only ideas worth preaching on are those born of the needs of the people and springing from their "life situations." He adds: "Every sermon . . . should focus on a sensitive living issue and claim . . ., purely on the grounds of crying need."[23] In the words of Edgar N. Jackson, "preaching is an ancient and respected art. Its long history evidences a continuity of concern with man's needs."[24]

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[19] Daniel Day Williams, p. 45.

[20] Ellison, p. 44. [21] Mitchell, Recovery of Preaching, p. 40.

[22] Ibid., p. 142. Cf. Russell Dicks, Pastoral Work and Personal Counseling (New York: Macmillan Co., 1944), p. 195. "The preacher who draws his sermons from his own thought and from books but does not go among his people, who never gives them an opportunity to tell him their thoughts, may have perfected the academic art of preaching but he will fail as a preacher. It is like the physician who has mastered the subject of anatomy from the study of cadavers but has never studied disease in living bodies."

[23] Ibid.

[24] Edgar N. Jackson, How to Preach to People's Needs (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 11. This is a good book for preaching to

Many Black Pastors are given to idea-centered preaching as opposed to need-centered preaching. Dr. John L. Branham, a Black Pastor in the Saint Paul Baptist Church in Los Angeles, California, calls the former the work of the "office preacher." The office preacher spends a lot of time preaching and searching for something to preach. He is always looking for sermon ideas that are right there in the needs of the people. The only ideas worth preaching on are those born of and relating to the people's needs. Pastoral initiative in getting to know the people and their needs provides an endless source for preaching.

Preaching, Liberation, and Black Christians

Preaching the Liberating Word effectively is dependent on a caring and loving relationship between Pastor and people. A caring and loving relationship is traditionally a strong point between the Black Pastor and people. Black Christians are socially, culturally, and religiously oriented toward their Pastors. This caring and loving relationship is affirmed between the preaching Pastor and involved congregation. To care for and love another is to liberate that person. This occurs in preaching when the Black Pastor and people create an active and lively dialogical experience. How the Black Pastor preaches, and how the people respond in dialogue, says much about the quality of the pastoral relationship. Authentic dialogue in the pulpit is an extension of the dialogical relationship at the pastoral level.

The Black Pastor preaches the Liberating Word to the condition of Black Christians. Since both are victims of a society which was closed to them, the dialogical relationship is heightened, especially as they both celebrate the Liberating Word. This is called "shouting" in the Black Church. Therefore, the condition of Black Christians becomes the condition of their Pastor. The Black Pastor's work is authenticated when he identifies with the historical, social, and psychological struggles of Black people. This is where preaching becomes care and expresses love. This is God's claim on the oppressed, to care for and love them. Mitchell says: "In the Black preaching enterprise, the preacher's preparation starts with close identity with his congregation. Historically, being Black, he could not escape having a part in their condition even if he wanted to."[25]

The Black Pastor's identification with the condition of Black Christians generates active and lively dialogue in the preaching event. It also invades the consciousness of both. Mitchell says: "The Black preacher must be upon his ears in the condition of his people, and out of this comes the easy dialogue between people whose lives are intimately close together--so close together that the themes which invade the consciousness of the one also invade the other."[26]

Reuel L. Howe illuminates the significance of dialogue between two participants sharing the Liberating Word. "It is imperative, then, that a Christian be a dialogical person through whom the Word that gives life is spoken."[27] This is a long established fact in the Black religious experience. The Liberating Word gives life to the Black Pastor and people, uniting the caring and love relationship between them. If being Christian is being a dialogical person, then the Black Pastor and people have achieved this in a unique and impressive way. Active and lively dialogue is the hallmark of Black preaching.

Moreover, the caring and love relationship is strengthened when the Black Pastor's preaching interprets the meaning of religion and life. In preaching the Liberating Word, the Black Pastor shows the people that a God of the oppressed is acting in their behalf through the Liberating Ministry of Christ. This symbolizes their "ultimate concern" in the struggle for liberation. This is what it means to proclaim the Kingdom of God. As the Pastor enters into relationship with the people and then preaches on the existential realities of their existence, the Pastor's care and love become a concrete expression for overcoming estrangement.

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[25] Henry H. Mitchell, Black Preaching (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1970), p. 103.

[26] Ibid., p. 104.

[27] Reuel L. Howe, The Miracle of Dialogue (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1963), p. 83.

As the Black Pastor interprets the issues of religion and life, the people serve a God of the oppressed intervening and speaking through their Pastor. The pastoral interpretation of religion and life is born of the relationship between Pastor and people. Ellison points out: "Until he has entered into the meaning of life and into intimate relationships to humanity, he has not made the initial step toward becoming the interpreter of life and religion."[28]

What applies universally for intimate relationships is particularly so with the Black Pastor. The Black Pastor and people have always been highly dependent on each other for the survival of the race. The Pastor shows care and love by preaching on survival issues peculiar to Black people. When a Black parishioner says "My Pastor," it is more than an affectionate title. The person is saying "the man who stands in John's shoes" is the key to our survival. The Black Pastor should never be lulled into thinking that all is well. To do so is to be less than realistic about from where Blacks came, what they went through, and how they got to where they are now.

Black Christians need the reassurance that their Pastor is alert and can defend them. This binds their love and care for each other. Hamilton points to the nature of this relationship:

> A discussion of religion among church affiliated Blacks will frequently include the phrase "my pastor." And when the phrase is used, there is a strong sense of mutual, personal attachment. The speaker will quote his Pastor, cite him authoritatively, tell what his Pastor has done for him, what the Pastor said in his sermon last Sunday. There is a feeling of trust and mutual loyalty not found in other relationships.[29]

What Hamilton says is true in the sense that the Black Pastor plays such a critical role in the survival of Black people. Black Christians will take care of a Pastor who helps them survive. They quote the Pastor's sermons when they deal with the life and death issues of Black existence. This is so from slavery to the present. Hamilton confirms:

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[28] Ellison, p. 11.

[29] Hamilton, p. 29.

> Thus, over the years a very personal relationship has developed between the Black preacher and his parishioners. This has been demonstrated in the protective care some Black church members show for their minister, buying clothes, cars, food, sending him on European trips and generally seeing after his and his family's every personal need. And frequently this care is provided by church members who barely eke out a living for their own families. An extraordinary and dramatic illustration of the devotion some Blacks have for their minister is the act of two free Black men during slavery days who voluntarily bound themselves in slavery while a slave preacher was freed for six months to raise money to purchase his freedom. The two voluntary slaves felt so strongly that the preacher was of value as a man of God and as a leader that they were willing to endure that servitude. The minister successfully raised the money, and he subsequently established the First African Baptist Church of Philadelphia in 1809.[30]

Mayeroff says: "To care for another person, I must be able to understand him and his world as if I were inside it. I must be able to see, as it were, with his eyes what his world is like to him and how he sees himself."[31] He adds: "In caring, my being with the other person is bound up with being for him as well."[32] To the historic credit of the Black Pastor understanding the people is the result of being intimately a part of their world and seeing it through their eyes. Through preaching the Liberating Word, the Black Preacher helped the people see life. The survival of both was at stake.

Howe says: "The objective of love is to provide the human being with resources, by means of which he may face his human existence with courage and with a sense of peace that passes understanding."[33]

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[30] Ibid., p. 30.

[31] Milton Mayeroff, On Caring (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 30.

[32] Ibid., p. 31. Cf. Mayeroff's definition of care. "To care for another person, in the most significant sense, is to help him grow and actualize himself" p. 1.

[33] Reuel L. Howe, Herein Is Love (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1961), p. 62.

The Black Pastor accomplished this through preaching the Liberating Word. The Liberating Word gave the Black Pastor and people the courage to face existence and oppression. Their mutual sharing of the Liberating Word brought them to where they are today. The Gospel writer in Matthew 11:15 indicates that Christ preached to real needs: "the poor have good news preached to them." The Gospel writer in Luke 5:43 says: "I must preach the good news of the Kingdom of God to the other cities also; for I was sent for this purpose."

SHEPHERDING AND THE TEACHING MINISTRY

The Black Pastor as a Teacher

In that preaching was the first public ministry the Black Preacher was allowed to practice, to the acceptance of Blacks and Whites and personal esteem, this was the beginning of a conscious and unconscious premium placed on the proclamation of the Liberating Word. It is still so today. The teaching ministry was largely nonexistent. Preaching had more personal and popular appeal and naturally was suited to the oral/folk tradition of Black slaves. It is understandable for people to focus their energies on what brings them personal acceptance or public approval. It was more so when in keeping with a group's culture and served as an instrument of survival and hope.

The contemporary Black Pastor who would be true to the heritage of the slave preacher and the total liberating ministry of Christ should put the same premium on teaching the Liberating Word to Black Christians. Slavery and the various forms of oppression left Blacks in a state of ignorance, prevalent in the masses of the historic Black Churches. A lack of knowledge in the Black Church has hurt many Pastors and people, causing splits and schisms. Local churches, denominations, and connections are still being torn asunder. While preaching preserved the sanity of Black Christians, and inspired many to make it from Sunday to Sunday, it has not removed this problem which keeps Black Christians from being self-supporting. The ignorance of oppression is one of the last vestiges of the slavemaster's hold on Blacks, thwarting efforts for consolidating strength and resources. It has kept Black Christians embroiled in internal church politics and personality squabbles over so-called and questionable charismatic leadership from the inception of the Black Church. The Black Pastor and people need to develop a corrective teaching ministry.

Many Black Pastors assumed that their people were too limited to learn. Selfish Black Pastors did not take the time to teach their people in order to control them for personal power and gain. Unfortunately, many Black Christians did not demand or expect their Pastor to teach them. The educational limitations of both often negated the teaching ministry. Many Black Christians did not want to be taught.

The contemporary Black Pastor must face the reality that every tool has its limitation. Preaching can only accomplish so much, and this is where teaching begins. Oates has stressed the importance of the Pastor as a teacher: ". . . the pastor functions as a teacher who informs an ignorant mind, or who supplies the missing piece in a confused perspective."[34] Consider the ramifications of this comment for a people who have been kept back because they were told they were ignorant and could not learn. Consider the ramifications for a people who have traditionally let the Black Pastor think for them, but who today are thinking for themselves. Hopefully, this will soon be a relic of the past. Pastor and people should work together to inform each other. Their health as a church depends on it.

If the Pastor is going to remove ignorance from Black minds, and open windows for a confused perspective, the teaching ministry of the Black Pastor should receive the commitment preaching does. Oates adds that one of the personal qualifications of a Pastor is that he be "An

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[34] Wayne E. Oates, The Christian Pastor (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), p. 63. Oates's own evangelical Southern Baptist religious heritage is very close to the evangelical heritage of Black Baptist.

Apt Teacher."[35] Pastoral teaching and preaching should be inseparable in teaching Black Christians. Oates points out: "Thus the absence of an effective teaching ministry of the church and its Pastor actually creates hindrances in preaching."[36] He continues: "The Pastor cannot relegate the teaching ministry of the church to assistants without doing violence to both his preaching and his pastoral relationship."[36]

The Black Pastor who is influenced by the revivalistic movement, and becomes what Oates calls "a roving pastor," should face the reality that the people suffer from the lack of the pastoral presence and touch. A true Shepherd would not think of leaving the people. Many Black Christians become uncomfortable with the absent Pastor. Christ was present and touched people because they had been enslaved and had been misguided through the ages, which became more apparent under the yoke of Roman oppression.

The contemporary Black Pastor has an appropriate model in the teaching ministry of Jesus Christ. Manuel Scott, Sr., a Black Pastor in the Calvary Baptist Church in Los Angeles, California, called Jesus "a pedagogical Prince who speaks to us across the ages to the present." For Jesus, preaching and teaching were two distinct but complementary activities for proclaiming and instructing people about the presence of the Kingdom of God.

Jesus proclaimed the Good News of the Kingdom of God as a present, accomplished, and continuing process. He instructed how the scriptures pointed to contemporary events in the sacred history of Israel. The Black Pastor should combine Kingdom preaching with Scriptural instruction, as it applies to the contemporary events in the Black struggle for complete liberation. Allmen says: "Christian teaching can be addressed only to men already brought into the faith through preaching."[38] In the early church the Kerugma and Didache were used to complement each other by the Apostles, who were the first Christian Pastors. They were concerned that their new converts not only hear the proclamation of good tidings about God but also receive ethical instructions in doctrines and apologetics for building up the fellowship and for practical living.

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[35] Ibid., p. 92. [36] Ibid., p. 113. [37] Ibid., p. 109.

[38] J. J. Von Allmen, ed., A Companion to the Bible (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 416.

Richardson points out: "The earliest Christian preachers went out to the world with this Kerugma, not with a Didache. Christian ethics follows, and is built upon the essential Christian message of what God has done in Jesus Christ."[39] Teaching illuminates and provides a pedagogical base for what has been preached. What Jesus preached in public was taught in private to his disciples.

The oral ministry of Jesus was forceful and rang with authority to all who heard him. It came with an appeal for personal decisions and prophetic fulfillment. He taught outdoors, in synagogues, and under various conditions. Though forceful, he was informal, brief, and to the point. He used figurative language, dramatic statements, proverbs, and parables. He was a storyteller who taught in the style of the Jewish rabbis. His uniqueness was an ability to take Scripture and to speak of himself, and thereby claim absolute authority for the will of God as present in his person. As a teacher, Jesus was a living commentary on the Scriptures. He moved away from abstract legalism of the religious leaders of the day to the actual condition of human estrangement. The Black Pastor should teach how the Scriptures relate to a condition of estrangement. The Pastor should teach that the presence of the Kingdom is the liberating activity of God in Christ to overcome estrangement.

Too long have Black Christians been treated as children. The Black Pastor begins by assuming the intelligence of Black people. Rejected are dictatorial notions that they need to be told what to do, which is typical of a passing generation of Black Pastors. A Shepherd never drives the people but guides them. They should be taught the proper direction. The Pastor can teach the people about the rough terrain in life through which they must pass, drawing upon the rich social, cultural, and religious heritage of the Black Church. The past is viewed for whatever benefits it might serve in the present, with the future hope of the race at heart. The teaching Black Pastor helps Black Christians to find their way through the mountains, valleys, and meadows.[40] The methods should be like those Jesus employed; figurative language, dramatic statements, proverbs, parables. Jesus drew upon his cultural surroundings and applied Scriptures to the eternal truths of living with one's neighbor and God. The Black Pastor's remarkable ability, in the light of oppression, to draw upon the culture of Black people and to apply Scriptures to life, shows how important the Bible has become as part of Black culture.

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[39] Allan Richardson, ed., A Theological Word Book of the Bible (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 172.

The Black Pastor and the Bible

The Black religious experience reveals that the Bible is the primary resource for preaching and teaching. Blacks were introduced to the Bible during slavery. The Biblical faith was distorted in the service of slavery. To their credit, Black slaves saw through the distortions. Their intelligence and intuition told them that something was wrong. Hamilton points out that "many slaves knew the difference between the imposed, enforced slave religion and the 'true Bible religion.' And many of them looked to their Black preachers to provide the latter."[41] Black Christians still look for their Pastors to preach and teach "the true Bible religion."

The Pastor's Class is usually the largest in the Black Church beyond the church school training union and weekend church school, except when the Pastor teaches. The Pastor may have other assistants teaching. In a Black Church, however, the people want to be under their Pastor's teaching. The Pastor is viewed as one "sent from God" and an authority on the Bible. What the Pastor teaches is generally taken as the "true Bible religion."

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[40] Earl R. Riggins, Jr., "To You Who Teach in the Black Church," in his To You Who Teach in the Black Church (Nashville, Tenn.: National Baptist Publishing Board, n.d.), p. 75.

[41] Hamilton, p. 39.

Regardless of the human or religious concern, it must be supported by the Bible or else Black Christians will turn a deaf ear. They may question the Pastor's calling and whether the Pastor has religion. If Black Christians cannot see an issue in the light of the Bible, it will probably have little value for them. Black Christians love and are a Bible-believing folk. This strong belief in the Bible has its origins in slavery, and is what Thomas calls the ". . . miracle of it all. Black people were able to penetrate the biblical distortions and misinterpretations and discern the real biblical message of human liberation and wholeness."[42]

The Bible was used as a weapon of control by the slavemaster, but Black Christians were able to identify in particular with the liberation struggle of the Israelites and the nation's heroes. It is this sort of true Bible religion that Black Christians were brought up on and should be passed on to younger generations for their benefit in understanding the faith of their mothers and fathers. The Black Pastor must not forget that the escape from pharaoh does not mean that Blacks are in the Promised Land. There is a wilderness in between.

The value of the Old Testament then is immediately apparent, providing one understands the beginnings of slave religion, which closely parallels Israel's pilgrimage. These parallels have been obvious even to the casual observer, and their timeless truths are still relevant to the Black liberation struggle. Edmund Stimle, a teacher in homiletics at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, remarked: "I envy the way Blacks can identify with the Old Testament. Whites have a hard time identifying with the Old Testament." Thomas says: "Both the Israelite experience and the Black American experience reveal a people, who beyond their share, suffered consequences not self-imposed, who in seeking liberation and meaning looked to God for an interpretation of their peoplehood, task, and destiny."[43]

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[42] Latta R. Thomas, Biblical Faith and the Black American (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1976), p. 17. Cf. Robert A. Bennett, "Black Experience and the Bible," Theology Today, 27 (January 1971), 432 f. "Jesus attacked the established norms of his society so that those oppressed by that society might be free. The black self-awareness in this present situation seeks to free black minds from white myths about blackness. . . . The Black experience in America is . . . expression of faith in God's involvement in life for freeing those who are not free and giving power to those who have none . . . the Bible and the Black experience . . . leads us to discern and accept God as speaking to us in the givenness of our situation."

The Bible informs pastoral work through the preaching and teaching of the Liberating Word. The Pastor must be able to relate pastoral work to the biblical faith of the people. William J. Shaw, a Black Pastor in the White Rock Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, points to certain Biblical motifs which have lasting relevance for Black Christians. Black Christians have a traditional affinity with these biblical motifs, which can be applied in pastoral work.

First is the motif of a "peculiar people." Shaw says: "Blacks have been called to a peculiar relationship to God in the course of Western history. That relationship rests not on genetics or even goodness, but in the mysterious graciousness of divine choice."[44] It enhances pastoral work when Black Christians know they belong to a God who identifies with their sufferings. Second is the motif of a "pilgrim people." There is a movement toward peoplehood, community, and freedom. It enhances pastoral work when Black Christians know that God is with them by night and day. Third is the motif of a "divine providence." There is a mighty power who cares and provides food, clothing, and shelter. It enhances pastoral work when Black Christians know there is One who blesses them with the necessities of life. Fourth is the motif of an "apocalyptic" God and His people will ultimately triumph. It enhances pastoral work when Black Christians know God has the final say on all matters.

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[43] Ibid., p. 46.

[44] William J. Shaw, "The Black Preacher and Black Biblical Interpretation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Colgate Rochester Divinity School, 1965), p. 124; cf. p. 25.

The Black Pastor should teach Black Christians that they are God's people. God is with them, takes care of their needs, and will continue to do so. Their ultimate victory belongs to a God of the oppressed. The Black Pastor should remember what Shaw calls the threefold authority of Scripture in the Black religious experience. There is "Scriptural Authority": the Word of God has an independent power. Secondly, there is "Prescriptive Authority": the Word of God offers courses of action, codes of behavior. Thirdly, there is "Normative Authority": the Word of God has a universal faith, standard, and goal.[45]

The God of the Old Testament cares and never deserts the people. In pastoral work, Black Christians should continue to experience the caring and abiding God of the Old Testament. The God of the Old Testament continues with His care and presence in the liberating ministry of Jesus to the oppressed. Thomas says:

> Black brothers and sisters should continue to embrace the biblical faith which in its Jesus-centeredness has been the underpinning of the Black American religious experience. It is this faith of being in cadence with Jesus that has helped Blacks in America affirm that they were indeed sons and daughters of God.[46]

Teaching Black Christians a sense of belonging is necessary for the security of the Pastor's people. Black Christians have found security in knowing, like Israel, that they belong to a God who cares for them and a Christ whose ministry liberates them "from the troubles of this world." This is a basic theme in teaching the Liberating Word.

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[45] Ibid., p. 44 f. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Black Religion and Black Radicalism (New York: Anchor Books, 1973), p. 51. "One of the striking differences between the Black church of the early nineteenth century as compared with today is the thorough knowledge of the Scriptures it possessed--particularly of the Old Testament--which is evident in the writings and speeches of both the laity and the clergy. The Bible was, of course, universally regarded by Black and white as the inspired Word of God."

[46] Latta Thomas, p. 106.

A traditional strength of the Black Pastor is the ability to deromanticize the Bible. The Black Pastor should be able to handle the life and death issues of the Bible and relate them to the existential situation of Black Christians. The Black Pastor should depict the realism of the unfolding Biblical drama and the characters involved. Mitchell shows that he did this through the art of storytelling. "In every Black Bible story, there must be a protagonist or hero, and an antagonist or evil influence or bad guy. There must be suspense--curiosity as to the outcome of the conflict right up to the end."[47]

The Black Pastor should use Biblical realism, helping the people see themselves in the Biblical characters, who were struggling with life and death issues. A knowledge of the Bible, the ability to preach and teach it, enhances pastoral work at the religious and interpersonal levels. Black Christians expect their Pastor to know the Bible, to be able to tell its story. Davis said: "Black congregations do not ask what a preacher thinks or what is his opinion. They want to know what God has told him through his encounter with the Word."[48] Oates points out that in pastoral work the Bible has "overwhelming symbolic strength."[49]

Teaching, Liberation, and Black Christians

Davis says: "There is no doubt that the consensus in the Black church is that the teachings of the Bible gives support to the Black man as he seeks to come to terms with changes in his own institutions the problems of society of which he is a part."[50] To be sure, there are changes taking place in society which the Black Church cannot ignore. Suffice it to say, these changes will place a tremendous teaching responsibility on the Black Pastor. The Pastor's best mental powers, training, and resources are needed to meet the challenge of social change. Undeniably, these changes will have an impact on the Black Pastor who takes pastoral work seriously. The Pastor will want what is best for the people. In most instances, the Pastor will have to educate the people about changes in institutions and problems in the society.

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[47] Mitchell, Black Preaching, p. 136.

[48] F. Benjamin Davis, "The Value of the Bible in the Life of the Black Church," in Riggins, p. 61.

[49] Wayne E. Oates, The Bible in Pastoral Care (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1973), p. 15.

Black Christians look to the Pastor for direction. Where the Black Pastor points, they usually follow. They follow because they have learned to love and trust the Pastor's leadership. This is the result of their experience together and the Pastor's ability to put things into perspective. The Pastor must be accurate in judgment, evaluations, and recommendations. This is why the intellectual leadership of the Black Pastor is paramount, especially with a rising and critical Black intelligensia. Jefferson says: "A minister must always go in advance of his people. He must lead them in thought."[51] He adds: "Men and women, no matter how gifted and well meaning, do not know how to do Christian work unless instructed."[52]

First, the Black Pastor must take advantage of the traditional educational channels of Christian education. The New Members Class should be taught by him only. These are people God has placed under the Pastor's care. Teaching them should begin right away. Black Christians appreciate a Pastor's presence. A Word of wisdom from the Pastor is always encouraging to what is going on in the Church School, Training Union, and Vacation Bible Schools. His review on the lesson is looked forward to. The Pastor can crystallize issues and apply them to the needs of the people. There is usually a direct correlation between the Black Pastor's commitment to the teaching ministry and a

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[49] Davis, p. 53. [50] Jefferson, p. 46. [51] Ibid., p. 47.

solid Christian Education program. Rare is a Black Church with a solid Christian Education Program.

Moreover, the instruction of leaders and officers to become extensions of the pastoral arm is tantamount to a broad based and successful pastoral ministry. The leaders of the Brotherhood, Sisterhood, Women's Missionary Society, Future Church, Children, Baptist Young People, and Young Adult Christians represent a class for the Pastor. The deacons, mothers, various boards, auxiliaries, and committee chairpersons round out the Pastor's cabinet and "weekly huddle." Some Black Pastors have cut their lives short trying to live up to the Pauline dictum of "being all things to all men." Christ had disciples to help him. He also taught them and sent them out to teach.

When the Black Pastor was the best informed man in the community and everyone looked to him for all the answers is a relic of the past. Blacks continue to look to the Pastor for answers, but no longer are they as dependent. Blacks today are thinking for themselves. The contemporary Black Pastor should take advantage of the intelligence and expertise of the people. A Pastor said: "If there is a task in the church that a lay person can do let them do it." There is still a tremendous need for recognition, self-esteem, and a place for Blacks. The Black Church has always provided the former. The Black Pastor should always bear in mind how much the Black church means to Black Christians. While it is "us's church," it belongs to Christ. Pastor and People must carry on his liberating ministries, and not necessarily for compensatory or the private ends of Black Christians.

Second, the Black Pastor should do strategic teaching. Strategic teaching is based on the needs peculiar to the congrebation and a definite plan and timetable for meeting them. Teaching, for example, on the religious pilgrimage of Black Christians in the light of the Bible can help the church to understand the historic struggle for liberation and how the Black Church became the vanguard of the race. Together they can see the strengths and weaknesses of their church tradition, where improvement is needed to become more effective in completing the liberation process. Exploring the religious pilgrimage of the Black Church, focusing on key events, periods, and persons can help to instill pride.

Another example of strategic teaching is the Black Church's obligation to the secular community. The Black Church has often gone its own way, ignoring the world outside. It has suffered from institutional inbreeding. Too much is at stake for the Black Church to be stagnant and complacent. The Black family is of special interest, and the missionary relationship with the liberation of Black Christians in Africa. Strategic teaching should also address the issue of splits and schisms. Black Christians need to be taught how to consolidate their power and to pool their resources without becoming divided.

Third, a key teaching responsibility of the Black Pastor is exposing miseducation. Earl R. Riggins, Jr., editor for the National Baptist Publishing Board, is correct about Blacks having been victimized by "compulsory miseducation."

> Black churchmen, regardless of their status ought [to] have some knowledge of the period of miseducation. . . . Slavery in the United States initiated the period of compulsory miseducation. Black people of this nation have not yet been freed from those structures that institutionally program the way they are miseducated. Almost 250 years of institutional slavery and better than a century of segregation have perpetuated the miseducation process. The Black church must remember that this not only affects the way Blacks learn in the public or private school, but, also, their achievement in religious knowledge. We were freed from the physical chains and shackles of slavery only to have substituted for them invisible ghetto fences.[53]

Riggins continues:

> By the period of miseducation, I mean that era where white plantation masters intentionally prohibited their slaves the right to formally learn the skills of reading and writing. Prohibition of this nature meant that slaves would not even be permitted to read and interpret the Bible for themselves.[54]

The Black Pastor should be an intellectual defender of the intelligence of Black Christians. The Black Pastor cannot rely on the public educational system to correst three and a half centuries of miseducation. The Pastor better than anyone else should understand the problem. The earliest Black Pastors were self-taught. The Black Pastor became the Shepherd of the Black Christians by trial and error. The Black Pastor should use the knowledge God gives to protect the people's self-esteem and integrity. The society screened Black people for not meeting the white man's educational standards and for not passing his IQ tests. The Black Pastor must teach Black Christians to put an end to educational genocide.

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[53] Riggins, p. 70 f.

[54] Ibid., p. 71.

The Black Pastor should see to it, especially for the young generation of Blacks in the church, that they master the basic educational skills. This may mean compulsory afterschool study hall at the church, which is certainly better than "compulsory miseducation." Many young Blacks, who are past high school and a part of society, are crippled because the educational system shows no evidence of undoing three and a half centuries of damage to Black minds.

Teaching like preaching has its limitation as a tool. Where preaching persuades the person to accept Christ, where teaching instructs to remove ignorance and to edify the person's mind, the way is opened for God's healing power for the physical, mental, and spiritual hurts of the person. Healing is necessary for total liberation.

For people came to hear Jesus teach the Liberating Word, because it had a powerful and healing effect on them. The writer of Luke 6:6 says, "When he entered the synagogue and taught, a man was there whose right hand was withered. . . ." Luke 21:37 says, "And everyday he was teaching in the temple [and] at night he went out and lodged on the mount called Olivet. And early in the morning all the people came to hear him. . . ."

SHEPHERDING AND THE HEALING MINISTRY

The Black Pastor as a Healing Agent

Healing has always been inherent in the Black religious experience. Healing was a structured part of plantation religion as practiced by the slave preacher. Healing was a ministry of the African Medicine man and Priest, who became the Black Christian Pastor. The slave preacher met a critical need as a healing agent, ministering to the physical and the psychic wounds suffered at the hands of their slavemasters. The slave preacher was a doctor of the soul, body, and mind. The slave preacher's healing ministry preserved the health of the slaves, and took the form of catharsis in the institutional Black Churches.

Slavery had almost stripped the African of every vestige of the past, but religion--the one institution that survived--was the work of the Medicine man and Priest. Dubois says:

> The chief remaining institution was the Priest or Medicineman. He early appeared on the plantation and found his function as the healer of the sick, the interpreter of the Unknown, the comforter of the sorrowing, the supernatural avenger of wrong, and the one who rudely but picturesquely expressed the longing, disappointment, and resentment of a stolen and oppressed people. Thus, as bard, physician, judge, and priest, within the narrow limits allowed by the slave system. . . .[55]

The Medicine man and Priest, later the Black Pastor, helped the people to absorb the traumatic shocks of slavery and the various transitional periods through which Blacks passed in the American experience. Hamilton is correct in calling the Black Pastor, who rose from slavery to become the natural leader of the people, a "linkage figure."[56] At each juncture, the slave preacher was there exhorting, instructing, and curing the wounded.

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[55] Dubois, The Souls of Black Folk, p. 144.

[56] Hamilton, p. 32.

Much has been made of the slave preacher as a tool of the slavemaster, but little has been told of the healing ministry. According to Hamilton, ". . . the Black preachers provided a kind of solace for their people. While they might have preached pacification, they also gave aid and comfort and provided emotional inspiration."[57] Where the physical body was bent from the heat of the day, and from the lash of the slavemaster's whip, the preacher was able to touch the sanctuary of human feelings. The Medicine man, Priest, and Black Pastor helped the people to meet the crisis and receive hope.

The preacher's mystical presence alone was consoling, when people turned to him in the hour of trouble. The preacher could bring joy where there was sorrow. The preacher could bring calm where there was tension. The preacher could bring security where there was anxiety. The preacher could bring healing where there was brokenness. C.M.E. Bishop Joseph A. Johnson, Jr., depicts the healing ministry of the Medicine man, Priest, and Black Pastor:

> It was he who took down the mutilated bodies of Black men after the mobs had done their worst. It was he who represented Black people to a hostile white community in times of deep trouble. He did this, not for pay, not for glory, but only to serve. He made life a little less arduous. When a child was born, he was there to bless and cheer . . . when death came close, he was there to guide and comfort . . . when food and hope ran low, he was there to bring faith and assurance. He knew fear and loneliness, pain and trouble as intimately and as often as any of his flock; but from his lips always fell words of comfort and reassurance. His bones were just as numb and his muscles just as tired and sore--yet he went among his people serene and calm and cheerful. For that was his calling--and following his calling he helped to save a people.[58]

The contemporary Black Pastor should carry on a healing ministry of the African Medicine man and Priest, which has a corollary in the New Testament healing ministry of Jesus. This was evident in the first institutional Black Churches, where the two healing traditions merged. Wilmore quotes Mbiti who says the medicine man in African societies is

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[57] Ibid., p. 37.

[58] Johnson, p. 11.

"the greatest gift" to the community as "both doctor and pastor."[59] Some of these men were "voodoo doctors" or "conjure men" who rose in stature and leadership in the secret meetings of the slaves. Wilmore says: "They were really 'medicine men' who came to be called 'Reverend' and were sought out for spiritual counsel and healing by both Black and White in the South."[60]

The healing ministry in the Black religious experience, like the healing ministry of Jesus, was designed to destroy demonic structures (Evil) to bring wounded persons into a relationship with a God of the oppressed. Wilmore adds: ". . . in the exorcism of demonic influences . . . these 'medicine men preachers' contributed to the uprooted slave."[61] The contemporary Black Pastor inherits this legacy from the medicine man and priest, and as a Christian Pastor, the healing ministry of Jesus. The healing ministry brings the Black Pastor to those suffering from the "shadow of the plantation" and the "marks of oppression." The healing ministry demands that the Pastor go where the people are suffering. Healing demonstrates the Liberating Word to the wounded and broken who need wholeness.

Disease and evil are not part of the Divine plan. God's purpose revealed in the healing ministry of Jesus was health and wholeness. The contemporary Black Pastor should bring the healing power of God of the oppressed to those diseased and demonic structures that destroy Black people. For example, the Black Pastor knows that hyper tension is the number one killer of Blacks in America. The stress of living in a society where Black people are not wanted, combined with limited economic opportunities, represents an annual problem for Blacks. Not all high blood pressure is from eating pork. The Pastor also knows that there are demonic structures in society that deny Blacks social mobility in American life. When people suffer as a result, like the priest and medicine man and Jesus of Nazareth, the Pastor becomes the healing agent.

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[59] Wilmore, p. 23. [60] Ibid., p. 24. [61] Ibid., p. 26.

Black Christians need in a Pastor *a physician* as well as a preacher and a teacher. It was the healing ministry of Jesus that drew people to hear his preaching and teaching. Tillich says: "Jesus was called a physician, and it is the physician from whom we ask first when we are looking for health."[62] The Pastor, as a physician, is a bearer of what Weatherhead calls the "other powers in the universe relevant to healing."[53]

In order to carry on an effective healing ministry, the contemporary Black Pastor should combine the ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing in the Liberating Word of a God of the oppressed. This becomes a concrete reality to those for whom wholeness means liberation from oppression. Disease and demonic structures are a hindrance to preaching and teaching the Liberating Word. The hold on the sufferer must be combated. Jefferson says: "He called the twelve together, and gave them power and authority over all demons and to cure diseases, and He sent them forth to preach the Kingdom of God and to heal the sick. The twelve understood that they were to do more than preach. They departed, and went throughout the villages preaching the Gospel and healing everywhere."[64]

The healing ministry shows the person the Pastor's care does not begin or end in the pulpit. Jefferson says: "When He sent His disciples out, He told them both to preach and to heal making it clear that His envoys cannot fulfill their mission by words alone, they must do a certain work."[65] The contemporary Black Pastor should recognize that on any given Sunday morning there are more hurt people in the congregation than not. The hurt and sick need a physician, and so the Black Pastor becomes a mass therapist. Peer group ministries like the Women's Missionary Society, Brotherhood, Sisterhood, Young Adult

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[62] Paul Tillich, *The New Being* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), p. 39.

[63] Leslie D. Weatherhead, *Psychology, Religion, and Healing* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952), p. 32.

[64] Jefferson, p. 30. [65] Ibid., p. 48.

Christians, Baptist Young People, Children, and Future Church are opportunities for taking moments aside from the regular activities to unburden, share, and receive pastoral and group support for healing.

The Healing Ministry in the Black Church

According to Roberts, "The Black preacher and the Black church have always carried on a healing and redeeming ministry. Through sermon, song, and liturgy the Black religious experience has been a weekly experience of healing and spiritual inspiration."[66] The genius of a healing and redeeming ministry in the Black Church is its corporate and cathartic nature. In the historic Black Churches, healing is usually a by-product of forceful prayer and the preaching event. In the Pentecostal movement, healing is more structured and can even dominate the worship service with the "healing line" for prayer, the "laying on of hands," and "anointing with oil."

The healing ministry in the Black Church is linked to the relationship between Pastor and people on a cultural level. It is enhanced where there is a strong pastoral relationship and where it is mutually beneficial. The people as well as the Pastor are healed, which is necessary in a Black Church. The Black Pastor and Black Christians share the same scars. The healing of the church, whether through sermon, song, or prayer, is vital to all.

Dr. Harold A. Carter, Pastor in the New Shiloh Baptist Church in Baltimore, Maryland, says healing is especially evident in the prayer experience of Black Christians.

> In a very exceptional way Black people have been able to sustain the pressures of a segregated and often oppressed life and yet find a way to celebrate the gift of life. This has been a traditional personality trait of Black people and is due to the Black person's way of finding healing and peace through the power of prayer.[67]

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[66] J. Deotis Roberts, Liberation and Reconciliation: A Black Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971), p. 124.

[67] Harold A. Carter, The Prayer Tradition of Black People (Valley

An example is the traditional Wednesday Night Prayer Meeting, which is the life-blood of the Black Church. The midweek prayer service for Pastor and people is a "refueling station" where they stop off to "tank up" spiritually between Sundays. The health of the church and its people is equated with the power Black Christians can generate "where two or three are gathered in my name." They know that he is "in the midst of them."

It is unfortunate that younger Blacks have associated the Prayer Meeting with older people in the church, whom some unwittingly feel have nothing better to do with their time, and have not sought out this powerful source for their healing. The Black Church was born in the "night meetings" through the remarkable power of prayer. This is a deep concern of the contemporary Black Pastor. A healing source which has infused strength for the journey may be fading. One can hardly imagine a healthy Black Church without a good Prayer Meeting and the healing power it generates for weary travelers. Through prayer the Black Pastor and people have associated the healing power of God with the Name of Jesus. Their faith in Jesus and not in some magical cure brings healing to Black Christians.

> For Black people, healing is definitely achieved through prayer. This healing takes place in the name of Jesus. The acts of kneeling, laying on of hands, and coming to the altar may not always take away the cancer or misery, but healing nonetheless has taken place! Prayer itself is healing! A strong magnetism of optimism is generated when the sisters and brothers meet together to call upon the name of the Lord. Here the aches and pains of this mortal body melt away as the Lord God takes over.[68]

The contemporary Black Pastor should remember that healing is a definite part of his African slave experience and the Christian experience. Healing is designed to meet an immediate need for physical and psychic release. Slavery was certainly a period where the immediate need for physical and psychic release was critical. Carter says:

Forge: Judson Press, 1976), p. 79.

[68] Ibid., p. 80.

> Those persons who seized doctors, and the like helped to fan the fires of expectancy. The need of a people to find practical remedies for ailments, without access to doctor's medicine and developed medical treatment gave a free hand to the conjurers and prophets during the long night of servitude and since.[69]

The Black Pastor's Christian experience shows the importance of healing for Black Christians through the liberating ministry of Jesus. The healing of Christ was a sign that a new age had dawned. It was evidence of his unique relationship with a God of the oppressed. Weatherhead points out: "His unique relationship to God made Him at home in the spiritual world and when He broke into a situation of human pain and distress, of body or mind, He brought with Him the energies of the plane on which He himself lived."[70] The uniqueness of His relationship with the Father is evident in healing as part of the total ministry of Jesus connected with preaching and teaching. Jesus demonstrated the love and care of the Liberating Word with concrete deeds of healing. Kelsey points to the New Testament basis of Jesus' total ministry.

> In the first chapters of the Gospel of Mark the ministry of Jesus is characterized as threefold--a ministry of preaching, teaching, and healing. . . . An honest, unprejudiced reading of the Gospels makes it perfectly clear that this was the understanding of the writers and that it is a good summary of his total ministry. Jesus proclaimed, or preached the Good News, the present reality of the Kingdom of heaven, now accessible to men. He taught his hearers how to relate their lives to God and his Kingdom; his teachings showed them how the various aspects of their thinking, their behavior related to the God now breaking into men's lives and history in a new way. This new insight was interpreted in the religious terms then current, the tradition of their Judaism. And third, he healed: he brought physical and mental health to the sick in body and mind, those possessed by physical affliction and what were known as demons.[71]

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[69] Ibid., p. 85.   [70] Weatherhead, p. 31.

[71] Morton T. Kelsey, Healing and Christianity (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 54. Cf. "The Healing Ministry of Jesus" in Bernard Martin, The Healing Ministry in the Church (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1960), Chapter 1; and "Christ's Healing Miracles" in Weatherhead, Psychology, Religion, and Healing, Chapter 1.

Kelsey says the New Testament healing ministry of Jesus was based on agape.

> The ministry of healing of Jesus is certainly in line with the constant emphasis in his teachings upon compassion and caring about one's neighbor. Certainly it is not out of character with that teaching. This stress on the importance of agape, love, is a most basic aspect of his teaching. One of the most concrete ways of expressing that love is through concern about another's physical and emotional condition, and the removal of torturing infirmities, physical hindrances, and mental or emotional illness.[72]

Kelsey says the relationship between preaching, teaching, and healing is a concrete reality of the Kingdom of God. "The healings of Jesus, far from conflicting with his preaching of the Kingdom of God, were instead referred to as a direct evidence of it. He stated specifically that his healing was a sign that the kingdom of heaven was breaking forth."[73] Oates says each ministry is similar in dynamics: "The dynamics of preaching, teaching, and healing are much the same as far as the Pastor's relationship is concerned."[74]

The total liberating ministry of Jesus has one common denominator: it liberates people from suffering and oppression, whether it is to put the estranged in touch with God, remove ignorance from limited minds, or mend the wounds of broken bodies. Jesus' basic thrust was pastoral where people were concerned. The suffering motif in the Liberating Word is unique to the Black Pastor and Black Christians in America.

The Black Pastor and people should continue to provide a Christian community where healing occurs. There is healing power in the hands of a Pastor and people who have suffered. Washington connects healing with Black Christians as God's chosen people in America. "As a result of this suffering by a whole people for four centuries and placed in the perspective of the Bible, . . . the Negro cannot be understood or understand himself except as nnother 'chosen people.' By their stripes may all be healed."[75] Roberts takes the position that the Black Church should adhere to the dictum, "Physician heal thyself." He is referring to the Black Church's chronic ill of splits and schisms.

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[72] Kelsey, Healing and Christianity, p. 57. [73] Ibid., p. 58.

[74] Oates, The Christian Pastor, p. 117.

> The cry for deliverance, for authentic freedom for existence, on the part of Black people, may be salvific for all men regardless of the nature or cause of oppression. The Black church must heal itself and overcome its own brokenness. It is a "sinning church"--though it is likewise sinned against. But the Black church must be "healed" before it will be a healing church.[76]

Healing, Liberation, and Black Christians

First, the healing ministry offers liberation to Black Christians by preaching the Liberating Word. This is the Black Pastor's opportunity to establish a relationship between God and the sick, emotionally disturbed, and those suffering from oppression. The Liberating Word is God's identification with the sufferer. In the healing ministry, preaching the Liberating Word restores the sufferer and gives God the victory. This is the meaning of "shouting" or catharsis in the Black Church in a response to the Liberating Word. Catharsis takes place at the conscious and unconscious levels. Pastor and people are healed. Mitchell says: "The healing catharsis inherent in the Black worship service has enabled many generations of Blacks to keep their balance and sanity in a world where other racial groups with far fewer problems have chosen suicide."[77]

Second, the healing ministry offers liberation to Black Christians by teaching the liberating Word. This gives the Black Pastor an opportunity to help the people gain control of their minds. It can free them from being controlled by demonic structures that would warp their thinking. Oates says: ". . . the pastor functions as the healer who helps uncover and bring to remembrance those buried memories of the past which nevertheless create blind spots in the person's present view of life and cause him to stumble in his way."[78] Blacks need to learn from their past in order to eliminate stumbling in the present, especially on the negative way they have been "programmed" to perceive themselves.

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[75] Joseph R. Washington, Jr., The Politics of God (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 155.

[76] Roberts, p. 71. [77] Mitchell, Black Preaching, p. 111.

Third, the healing ministry offers liberation to Black Christians by demonstrating the Liberating Word. This gives the Black Pastor an opportunity to help the people know that God is there to meet and release the sufferer. A God of the oppressed is in the sick room, and "Jesus is the doctor." Black Pastors have often heard their people give prayerful thanks for the Lord in the sick room. In their prayers they have been able to say, as Carter points out, "he came in my sick room." He "cooled scorching fever and calmed troubled minds." He was a "heart fixer and mind regulator." He was a "lawyer in the courtroom, doctor in the sick room, friend to the friendless, husband to the widow, mother to the motherless, and father to the fatherless."[79]

Of supreme importance in healing Black Christians is the Black Church as an extended family. Healing is effected in Christian fellowship. It is the Pastor's task to draw people into healing community. According to Weatherhead, "the powers of the Kingdom are manifested through the fellowship of the church."[80] This is essential considering the corporate and communal nature of care in the Black Church.

Healing occurs where there is a family. Family life at its best is understanding, love, and care for each other. This is what Shaw means when he says, "This admonition to love one another has found fertile soil in the Black psyche, because the Black person has grown up in the context of a large caring unit. The extended family phenomenon within the Black community has already broadened the horizons of this concern."[81] Mitchell says:

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[78] Oates, p. 63.

[79] Carter, p. 48.

[80] Weatherhead, p. 80.

[81] Shaw, p. 115.

> The Black may have had a balm the white man didn't know. He had a religion and a religious tradition which gave him a motive for living and the freedom to live. No matter what the externals of his existence, in his church he was safe in the context of love. God's love and the love of his people. It is a blessed Black tradition. The Black congregation is one of the most dynamic and healing experiences known to man.[82]

Roberts implies that the healing ministry of the Black Church should be directed toward saving the Black family. He says:

> *If we can heal the brokenness in family life, we shall be on the way to unity, power, and love among ourselves* that will deal a powerful blow to structures of power that perpetuate the injustices against Black people. The Black Church as a people of God, must by household of faith, as the family of God, must by work and deed uphold the ideal pattern of family life to young and old in the Black community.[83]

To Roberts this means for Blacks and Whites an encounter with a "proper healing agent." He says:

> Christ, in his office as priest, mediates to us health and wholeness. Blacks and whites in this racist society have been disabled spiritually, emotionally, mentally, and physically by the sickness and cancerous growth of racism. Its effect has been psychosomatic. It has impaired us as individuals and as groups. It has created anxieties, fears, and hatreds from which we shall have difficulty finding a proper "healing agent." Jesus, who came preaching and practicing a program of health, is now addressing this "therapeutic situation." Blacks and whites have developed such a deep pathology that demons must be exorcised.[84]

As a channel of the "proper healing agent," the Black Pastor should continue to show Black Christians that prayer and life in the fellowship is still a healing ground for physical, mental, and spiritual disease. Given the tremendous need for confession and catharsis, the Black Pastor should reinstate the old fashioned "mourner's bench," where many a person has poured out his heart in quest of healing from an estranged life and an oppressive society. The "altar call," the "blessing line," and "the healing line" are essential for the oppressed.

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[82] Mitchell, Black Preaching, p. 111.

[83] Roberts, p. 74 (italics mine). [84] Ibid., p. 122.

Unfortunately, as in the period of the early Christian Church, the healing ministry has fallen into disuse in the historic Black Churches. Dr. Carter points to a reason: "Recently . . . healing has shown signs of failure, due mainly to the social rise of Black people and falling away from the Black Church."[85] He adds: ". . . their psychic need in the corporate minds and spirits of Black people is often exploited and commercially used."[86] The healing ministry has been abused, thereby falling under suspicion.

The commercialization of the healing ministry has even taken on a theatrical nature through certain T.V. ministries of the white fundamentalist variety. This abuse of the healing ministry is also apparent in the Black cults and sects which flourish in big city ghettos. The self-proclaimed prophets in these groups claim magical healing powers for themselves, and they often associate healing with their dreams and visions. Washington says one group advertised the healing ministry using the following slogan:

> *We Believe That All Manner of Disease Can Be Cured* by the power of God divine. . . . Healing is always needed; no matter what your ailment may be it can always be cured. This place is open day and night for the healing of sick and prayer.
> Jesus is the Doctor
> Services on Sunday.[87]

The historic Black Churches lost much of the healing ministry of their early history. The national Pentecostal movement assumed the healing ministry which the historic Black Churches once had during and immediately after slavery. Today through the "new charismatics," with their emphasis on healing, many Blacks are leaving the historic Black Churches to join a resurgence of Pentecostalism and commercial religion.

Indeed, there will always be a tremendous need for healing in the Black Church. The Pastor cannot preach to people and teach people the way of Christ without dealing with their organic diseases, functional disorders, mental illnesses, and oppression. The Shepherd's heart is one of compassion for those who are disabled. To have compassion is to know their suffering, and to show them that their Pastor is a fellow sufferer.

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[85] Carter, p. 79.

[86] Ibid., p. 81.

[87] Joseph R. Washington, Jr., Black Sects and Cults (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1973), p. 119. One should understand that Washington views the healing ministry in the Black church as a substitute for lack of economic power.

The compassion of Jesus brought out the healing power in his person as he ministered to people in suffering. He called upon their faith, and turned their minds toward God. He showed the sufferer the divine order. As a healing agent of this Father, Christ released sufferers through the power of forgiveness where they were estranged from God. This is symbolized by the Cross of Christ.

Sufferers were healed because of their faith in the healing ministry of Christ and a God of the oppressed. When he asked them to do something concrete, when he touched them or they him, when he appealed to his special authority, whether close or at a distance, and challenged the person to make a fundamental change in his life, it was because of their faith in Him and his Father that they were healed. The Black Pastor must carry on the healing ministry of the African medicine man, priest, plantation preacher, and Jesus of Nazareth. The Gospel writer in Matthew 5:23 says: "And he went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every disease and every infirmity among the people." Matthew 8:17 says: "This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah, 'He took our infirmities and bore our diseases.'" Luke 9:15 says: "When he saw the crowds he had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd."

SUMMARY

The shepherding of Black Christians requires a balanced pastoral approach, which can be achieved by a commitment to the ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing.

Shepherding and the preaching ministry indicate that the

Liberating Word of God is inseparable from the context of the Black pastorate.

The Black Pastor must commit a major portion of pastoral work to teaching the Liberating Word of God. This is designed to correct a major deficiency in the historic Black Churches, and to enhance the preaching of the Liberating Word of God. The Black Pastor's primary source for preaching and teaching is the Bible. The Black pastor's use of the Bible shows an encounter with the Liberating Word of God, and a religio-cultural tradition which is Bible-centered. The teaching ministry liberates then informs, instructs, and edifies the minds of Black Christians.

Shepherding and the healing ministry indicate that the Liberating Word of God is inseparable from the content of the Black pastorate.

The Black Pastor, as a healing agent, inherits the legacy of the slave preacher, Medicine man, and Priest. The healing ministry brings the pastor face to face with the problem of Black suffering, oppression, and the need for wholeness as liberation. The healing ministry in the Black Church needs to be structured into the life of the church in order to deal with the hurts of Black Christians in unison with preaching and teaching. Healing liberates Black Christians when the liberating Word of God is applied to the concrete conditions of Black Christians which are the result of oppression. This particularly applies to psychic and organic disease.

Shepherding in the Black Church therefore assumes a large need for the proclamation of the Liberating Word of God, the instruction of the Liberating Word of God, and the actual demonstration of the Liberating Word of God. This is the consequence of the relationship between the pastor and people. It cannot be isolated from this on-going, nurturing, caring context of the Black Pastor as a father/mother figure and the Black Church as the extended Black family.

Shepherding in the Black Church is built on a mutually interdependent relationship between pastor and people. Their survival, health, and liberation are interlocked. Pastor and people belong to each other, and they are held together by the Liberating Word of God as they walk through a situation of oppression. The goal is to liberate themselves and their oppressors.

Chapter 6

THE SHEPHERDING BLACK PASTOR AS COUNSELOR

Counseling is essential to the work of the Christian Shepherd. It is an opportunity to fulfill the priestly role of pastoral work. In the Black Church, formal counseling is rarely done. Black Christians usually do not expect this of their pastor. They tend to see him principally as a preacher. Counseling occurs, whether intended or not. Inherent in preaching, teaching, and healing is counseling. Counseling provides relevant content for an effective ministry of shepherding. Counseling brings the pastor face to face with the issues of human suffering, and this is an opportunity to apply the Liberating Word to the sufferer's need.

COUNSELING BLACK CHRISTIANS AND LIBERATION

An Approach to Counseling in the Black Church

Before discussing an approach to counseling in the Black Church, it is necessary to understand why Black Pastors are not adept in counseling and yet there is a tremendous need. First, the Black Pastor's evangelical heritage has historically taught that preaching is primary. Second, the Black Pastor is limited by a lack of training in counseling. Third, the field of counseling is a product of the white Euro-American community. The same is true of the field of pastoral counseling, which is a product of the American white church, borrowing heavily from secular counseling and the Western value system.

Nonetheless, counseling takes place in the Black Church. While it is not always understood, counseling relationships usually have developed from the romantic linkage between pastor and people. Hicks stated:

> The Black pastorate is marked by a supportive counseling relationship which is often achieved in noncounseling situations.

> The Black Pastor generally does not counsel by appointment--fifty minutes a session; "see you next week." Most Black Pastors have a telephone which rings day and night. Many are the people who need to hear a reassuring voice, to hear a kind word, to know somebody cares. The counseling event takes place whenever and wherever possible. And it is the sharing of personal moments and intimate secrets that the romance is all the more deepened and solidified. Much of the time the counseling of the Black preacher has been of a homespun, off-the-cuff variety, rarely getting into in-depth analysis or long-term counseling relationship.[1]

The Reverend Otis Moss of Cleveland's Olivet Institutional Baptist Church points to the remarkable job done by the Black Pastor despite the lack of formal training in counseling. Handling funerals and dealing with the trauma of death provide an example.

> Have you ever thought about the fact that without a psychiatrist, we withstood things that send most people to insane asylums? We didn't have the benefits of psychiatric counseling at the point of death, but the Black preacher at the funeral service became the psychiatrist without fee. The Black Church kept the Black race from committing suicide.[2]

This is not to deny the need for formal counseling in the Black Church. To repeat, there is a large need. There is an alarming increase in domestic turmoil among Blacks; alcohol and drug abuse, crime and delinquency, homosexuality and moral decay highlight the need. Problems once more found in the white community are now plaguing the Black community. An example is the rise of the suicide rate among Blacks, especially the middle class. The contemporary Black Pastor needs to do more than "a homespun off-the-cuff variety" of counseling. Formal counseling should be scheduled in the Black Church to let Black Christians know that their pastor has set aside a time and place and is willing to struggle with them and their problems on a personal level. It is a source of comfort to know that someone is there, whether they are needed or not. It will be a long time before Blacks accept group counseling in the Black Church.

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[1] H. Beecher Hicks, Jr., Images of the Black Preacher (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1977), p. 96.

[2] Otis Moss, Jr., "Black Church Distinctives" in Emmanuel L. McCall (compiler), The Black Christian Experience (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1972), p. 16.

Available approaches to counseling for Shepherding are found in numerous books and manuals on counseling.[3] These need to be modified before using them with Black Christians. The selection of counseling approaches depends on the training and experience. More importantly, it also depends on an understanding of a human condition. An example is oppressed Blacks. The basic approach begins with the Black condition--a situation of oppression and a need for liberation.

Barnes says:

> Any approach to counseling Black people must explicitly recognize the fact that Black people exist in a society that does and has victimized them for 400 years, a society that keeps the mass of blacks in an oppressed state economically, educationally, politically, and socially, a society that asserts in countless ways that Blacks are inferior, a society that uses the brutal, dehumanized conditions it creates as evidence for its claim and justification for its position.[4]

This approach, therefore, is based on the premise that Blacks have been and are oppressed because they are Black. It says that while color is a determining factor for the Black condition, Blacks can still be whole persons. Blacks need not be victims of early experiences, or bound by their unconscious past. Self-awareness and freedom to decide one's fate can be achieved, providing a willingness to assume responsibility for freedom. Blacks can choose "the courage to be," and can strive toward becoming "fully functioning." They can tap the unactualized potential within themselves, toward becoming inner directed and able to integrate their thoughts, their feelings, and behavior. The potential for choice is always there, and alternatives to moral dilemmas. Sociocultural influences on "conditioning and learning" are not to be denied. Blacks can think for themselves regardless of formative factors and can establish their identity.

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[3] The best book on counseling available for pastors is Howard J. Clinebell, Jr., Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966). It is very helpful for the minister who wants to be a specialist in counseling. Another volume, a manual written for secular counselors, is Gerald Corey's Theory and Practice of Counseling and Psychotherapy (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1977). The writer has found this to be a helpful book to use alongside of Clinebell's work. Both volumes discuss the same schools of counseling and psychotherapy.

[4] Edward J. Barnes, "Counseling and the Black Student: The Need for a New View" in Reginald L. Jones, ed., Black Psychology (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 215.

Still any approach to counseling Blacks should consider that "color" has shaped their cultural experience. Janet A. Kennedy, in an article, "Problems Posed in the Analysis of Negro Patients," discovered that a primary problem in counseling Blacks is directly related to their color. The stigmatization of being a "Negro" and hangups about white image ideals constantly came up.[5]

The Black Pastor who pastors a largely Mulatto, upper-middle class, or Bourgeoisie type Black Church needs to be aware of the color factor in counseling the people about their identity as Blacks. The pastor may need to do a great deal of "image building" in order to help them overcome their ambivalence about being Black. While the pastor may need to explore the possibility of repressed hostility, self-hatred, the acceptance of white culture and ego ideals as superior, he must be careful about "the psychoanalytic stereotype."[6] This is seldom the situation in the traditional or Afro-American type churches, where Blacks are comfortable with themselves. The historic Black Churches are in this category and the Pentecostal movement.

Naturally, the Black Pastor should not overlook the special and universal problems. Yet the reality of color should never be denied when counseling Blacks. White counselors have failed exactly at this point in counseling Blacks.[7] Its importance is crucial in helping Blacks to discover who they are and what they might become. When counselor and counselee are Black, color becomes the unifying influence, as each shares the other's condition on a cultural level. It symbolizes not only a common racial bond, but also a mutual condition from oppression and need for liberation.

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[5] See the Kennedy article on p. 199 f. in Martin M. Brossack, ed. Mental Health and Segregation (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1963).

[6] Alexander Thomas and Samuel Sillen, Racism and Psychiatry (Secaucus, N.J.: The Citadel Press, 1972), p. 14. The "psychoanalytic stereotype" is where Blacks allegedly desire to be White and consciously and unconsciously hate themselves.

The fact that they share a mutual condition removes the cultural barriers that would otherwise block effective counseling. Culture is a cohesive factor. The Black Pastor who relates on a cultural level to the person discovers this enhances pastoral work. This gets inside the color factor, and the person becomes a colleague in counseling. Progress is made in getting to know the real person with the problem. This lessens the chance of value conflicts and norms hindering the counseling process.

Therefore, culture is crucial in any approach to counseling in the Black Church. Edward J. Barnes said: ". . . those who function in counseling capacity are also carriers of the values and norms of their culture, and these values and norms necessarily come into operation. . . ."[8] The Black Pastor has been described as the traditional and religio-cultural leader of Black Christians and therefore an interpreter of values and norms. This ability weighs heavily in helping Blacks deal with the irrepressible question of what it means to be Black in a White society.

The Black Church symbolizes the values and norms of Black

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[7] See Walter A. Adams, "The Negro Patient in Psychiatric Treatment," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 20, 2 (April 1950), 305 f. This writer shows how prevalent the involvement of race is when a White counselor works with a Black patient and behind this the reality of the difference in color of each in blocking counseling.

[8] Barnes, p. 214.

Christians and provides a cultural base as well as religious context for counseling. In any approach to counseling, the Black Pastor should take advantage of what this institution means to Black Christians, as a place where they can receive help, a place where the relationship is not strained, a place where they can receive the warmth, empathy, acceptance, and understanding necessary to facilitate the ability to cope.

Marylou Kincaid recognized the vital importance of the cultural dynamics and influence the counselor can have and the common bond shared with the person. The Black counselor is the best person to counsel Blacks. This is already built into the priestly role of the Black Pastor through the evolution of the Black Church and the psychosocial pilgrimage of Black people. Kincaid said:

> The best person to suggest alternatives--new modes of response, new vocational choices, new areas of educational pursuit--may be the Black counselor who has faced similar obstacles and discrimination to those which his client may be facing. A Black counselor who has not rejected his own personal history may be most able to inspire a feeling of confidence and a sense of hope in his Black clients.[9]

She continued:

> Perhaps such understanding may best occur when the client can see that the therapist, although sharing a common history of slavery and oppression with him, has freed himself from the bondage of that history and discovered a unique identity, but still understand the struggle of those who are attempting to break out of that bondage.[10]

Formal Counseling in the Black Church

The Black condition and identifying with the person on a religio-cultural level provides a context in which to do formal counseling in the Black Church. This lessens the problem of working out of a cultural vacuum. A personal knowledge of the person by their pastor is assumed. When counseling is taken seriously, the Pastor can apply the ministries of shepherding to their problems and those of others who are suffering.

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[9] Marylou Kincaid, "Identity and Therapy in the Black Community," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 47, 9 (May 1969), 888.

[10] Ibid.

The need is again evident from the large numbers of Blacks who have turned to spiritual advisers, palm readers, fortune tellers, and T.V. healers. For instance, a Pastor was disappointed to learn that a member domestically troubled for a long time revealed that she had responded to a T.V. offer by Reverend Ike to send for a "prayer cloth." By writing in, it could be purchased for a small sum. When the Pastor asked why, the person stated that she was told the "prayer cloth" would solve her problem. Nothing else was working, the person reasoned. So why not try this, she stated. Obviously, this was a desperate move on the part of the member who needed real help and who could have benefitted from her Pastor's counsel or professional counseling. It did not dawn on this person that one of the functions of her pastor is counseling.

Further evidence of the need for formal counseling in the Black Church is the large number of Blacks who have recently turned to astrology for self-analysis, seeking guidance for their destinies. Alvin F. Poussaint blames this in part on the fact that formal counseling in the psychiatric community has been racist, largely geared to the middle class, too expensive, and irrelevant to the needs of Blacks.

> Largely because psychiatry has been unresponsive to the needs of Blacks astrology has come to exercise a powerful hold in the Black community. Thousands of Blacks annually give their money to mediums, healers, advisers, readers, and prophets, who make up the hierarchy of the occult world.[11]

What Poussaint is saying should be carefully noted by Black Pastors. Many of these who "annually give their money" are Black Christians, who could benefit from pastoral counseling. Some Black

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[11] Alvin F. Poussaint, Why Blacks Kill Blacks (New York: Emerson Hall Publisher, 1972), p. 52.

Pastors would be shocked to learn that a large number of their congregation believe in the occult world and seek counsel. This is understandable. From plantation slavery to the present, astrological elements have always permeated Black religion. Poussaint pointed to a primary reason why astrology is so powerful among Blacks: "The belief that each man's destiny is ruled by the planets has helped give Blacks feelings of self-importance, fate control and security."[12] He believed this is traceable to the African past, the slave experience, and Black religion.

> We know that the lives of Blacks have always had an element of the unpredictable. Ever since he arrived on these alien shores, transported from his native Africa, the Black man has been the victim of circumstances over which he has had no control. This hostile environment was inhabited by strange and malevolent slave masters who were seen as the devil's disciples. Afro-Americans turned to the medicine man, the voodoo priest, the spiritual healers and religion for consolation and advice on how to survive. Blacks also turned to the heavens. . . . The stars are a longstanding symbol of hope and salvation in Black culture.[13]

Poussaint also observed that "Blacks found another form of slavery waiting in the decrepit ghettos of the large cities. In this strange new environment, many Blacks again turned to the spiritual healer for advice and once more searched the planets for solace. Some did to add to the effect of regular church on Sunday."[14] Implicit are three important concepts for formal counseling in the Black Church.

First is the concept of self-definition. Blacks have been denied the right to define themselves as persons, and their experience has taught them that they are nonpersons. Being nonpersons was reinforced in many ways: a slave, a boy, a child. Self-definition means that the counselor is going to facilitate a process whereby the person claims his right as a human being to manhood or womanhood. No one can say who I am or what I am not. I take full responsibility for saying who I am and what I am not. This is crucial for Blacks wrestling with the question of Black, Negro, Colored, or Afro-American.

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[12] Ibid., p. 53. [13] Ibid. [14] Ibid.

Second is the concept of self-control. Blacks have been denied the right to control their existence, and their experience taught them that they are inferior. Blacks no longer believe the lies which they have been taught about themselves. They will rewrite and correct the misinformation about their pilgrimage as a people. They will decide for themselves, based on their own quest for truth, about who they are and not what others say. Self-control means that the counselor can facilitate a process whereby the person becomes responsible for what he or she thinks and the way each chooses to manage things.

Third is the concept of self-empowerment. Blacks have been denied the right to personal mobility, and experience taught them to stay in their place. Blacks will no longer be prevented from improving individually and collectively. This pertains especially to their economic, social, and political well-being. Self-empowerment means that the counselor will facilitate a process whereby status traditionally ascribed for Blacks in American society does not have to be accepted. They will rid themselves of any feelings of being powerless or inability to do anything about their situation.

The issue of "power" is a key factor in counseling Blacks. Blacks need to be taught that no one can take their power away from them unless they give it away. Rollo May, an eminent psychotherapist, employing his existential approach, discovered with a Black client the dual problem of being Black and the resultant feeling of impotence.[15] Donald K. Cheek, Professor of Psychology at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, believed that the "Assertive Training" approach to therapy is "tailor-made for Blacks." He implied that this approach can help Blacks handle feelings of being powerless. He stated:

> Assertive behavior training attempts to show you how to stand up for your rights, say no when you want to say no and yes when

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[15] See Chapter Four, "Black and Impotent: The Life of Mercedes," in Rollo May, Power and Innocence (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972).

> you want to say yes, to openly express positive feelings, to judge your own behavior and not to be manipulated by others, to ask favors and make request, to deal with ***criticism*** and generally to direct your own life. This approach seeks to enhance your emotional freedom and to increase your feelings of self-respect.[16]

Cheek, a Black counselor, is keenly aware of the psychosocial history of Blacks regarding passiveness, a highly visible form of being powerless. He continued:

> The strategy of Blacks facing hostile whites was to give the appearance of being submissive and of offering no resistance. The goal of those Blacks interested in surviving was to put on an act for the white man--to act like you were passive even though you felt aggressive or assertive. This passive act began to have special meaning to Blacks since frequently there was no choice involved--one had to ignore insults and abuse or risk the wrath of whites. Passiveness grew to have a special meaning in the Black Experience.[17]

The pastor should challenge the person to recognize that being powerless is contingent on how they perceive themselves. Successful resolution of conflict should mean the power to overcome unconscious processes. The uniqueness of each individual and self-determination should mean the power to become. Awareness of a person's problems should mean the power to resolve them. Dealing with "unfinished business" should mean the power to assume personal responsibility. Overcoming the need for playing games should mean the power to develop intimate transactions. Developing a treatment plan should mean the power to overcome faulty learning. Overcoming irrational thinking and behaving should mean the power to change belief systems. To focus on what can be done now should mean the power to accept moral responsibility.

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[16] Donald K. Cheek, Assertive Black . . . Puzzled White (San Luis Obispo, CA: Impact Publishers, Inc., 1976), p. 14. (Italics mine.)

[17] Ibid., p. 16.

The Black Pastor, Liberation, and Counseling

Understanding the Black condition and having a conceptual framework are important for the Black Pastor. An approach to formal counseling requires this. The use of goals, techniques, and therapeutic relationship are further required.

The goals of counseling Blacks are threefold. First is the liberation of the Black mind from any feelings of inferiority and notions about the superiority of White ego-ideals. Second is the acceptance of Blackness and the importance of pride in Black culture, as being beautiful and intrinsically valuable. Third is the establishing of a healthy Black self-concept of who one is and what one can become.

Blacks can also benefit from other goals of therapy: the psychoanalytic goal of insight; the existential goal of freedom of choice; the client-centered goal of greater trust in self; the gestalt goal of making new decisions; the behavior modification goal of unlearning maladaptive behavior in favor of constructive behavior; the rational emotive goal of a tolerant and rational view of life; and the reality therapy goal of achieving a success identity, based on a plan of action. The counselor facilitates a process whereby the person sets goals and achieves them through a supportive and dialogical relationship with the counselor.

Regarding the use of techniques in achieving a therapeutic goal, an eclectic approach is recommended. Poussaint said: "Black clients in general are likely to respond well to therapy that is warm and based on a relaxed relationship with the therapist rather than therapy based on artificial formalities."[18] The Black Pastor will probably discover this to be true. The Black Pastor should avoid those modes of therapy which use techniques that are highly contrived, artificial, and faddish. Few techniques are necessary. The best results are achieved through a straightforward, honest, open pastoral relationship that develops out of the day-to-day work with Black Christians.

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[18] Poussaint, Why Blacks Kill Blacks, p. 55.

Those techniques which would be valuable to the Black Pastor are built into the nature of the pastoral relationship: interpretation, understanding, active listening, reflection of feelings, clarification, being there, support, reassurance, confrontation, dialogue, role playing, contracts, diagnosis, information gathering, teaching, reading, and personal evaluation. Techniques, again, are never a substitute for the all important pastoral relationship. The ability to take advantage of this relationship facilitates progress in counseling.

A sound perspective is necessary for the pastoral relationship to be therapeutic. A "growth" perspective as opposed to a "pathological" perspective is favored. The counselor believes unequivocally in the potential of the person counseled and the ability to facilitate a process. The person realizes their individual potential, and utilizes it toward maturity. The counselor becomes what Howard Clinebell calls a "growth enabler." Much depends on the counselor's faith in the person counseled and their problem is seen as an opportunity for growth. The growth perspective seeks to affirm the integrity of the person as a person, saying that the problem is only a temporary handicap, providing the person is willing to work on it.

In addition to having a sound perspective, the Black Pastor can strengthen the therapeutic relationship by being an identity model. The importance of this lies in the fact that Black Christians have always identified heavily with their pastors. That is to say, the tremendous influence which Black Christians have traditionally accorded their pastors can enhance the counseling process. It is the Pastor's influence that very often cements the member's ability with his or her Pastor in accepting counseling. It is the direct result of pastoral leadership as a father/mother figure and leader of the extended Black family, the Black church. When a member seeks counseling, he is turning to the spiritual head of his family. This is natural, healthy, and rooted in Black culture.

This is not to suggest that the Black Pastor is an absolute authority in counseling. In fact, it is very important to exercise democratic values. Barbara Lerner discovered, on the basis of an extensive study of Blacks undergoing psychotherapy, that therapy moves much better for the person when the therapist is committed to democratic values.[19] This applies to such therapist factors as empathy, expectations, experience, and interest in the person being counseled. Counselor and counselee discover the strengths, weaknesses, possibilities, and limitations present in each. Lerner concluded that a good counselor is "a highly democratic person who is keenly aware of his negative as well as his positive feelings, a person who respects the validity and autonomy of his own experience and that of others and is thus capable of "telling it like it is."[20]

Effective counseling that enables the individual to resolve or cope with a problem cannot take place where elitist attitudes are reflected by the counselor. Counseling is an attempt by one human being with specialized training to establish a meaningful and democratic relationship with another. The fact that the person is a member of the church pastored, and consciously or unconsciously is perceived as a father/mother figure, does not negate the fact that the person's freedom must be respected. Lerner added: "My own understanding of a democratic relationship is one in which democracy is a reality for both parties."[21] This is important in counseling Blacks, who have been denied the privilege of democratic values.

This means for the counselor and counseled a mutual sharing of expressed ideals, needs, and ambitions. Counseling becomes what it should be, a feeling relationship. The counselor and counseled are colleagues. They learn from each other about the meaning of current behavior, and from what Bernard Steinzor called "the healing partnership," as they develop a nurturing, working relationship. As members of an oppressed community and in need of liberation they are co-sufferers. The healing of one means the healing of the other. This eliminates the problem of "the neglected client," who, according to Martin H. Jones and Martin C. Jones, is more often than not Black and does not have the benefit of adequate counseling.[22]

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[19] Barbara Lerner, Therapy in the Ghetto (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 138 f.

[20] Ibid., p. 147.

[21] Ibid., p. 142.

Herein the Black Pastor seeks a Pastor-Adult relationship. He avoids a Pastor-Child relationship. The latter is typical of so many Black churches, frequently occurring where the church is usually built around the personality of a dictatorial pastor. It is little more than a cult. A Pastor-Adult relationship seeks to impower the other toward personal maturity and liberation. The Pastor's ability to communicate this to the counselee is directly related to the successful outcome of therapy.

Where counseling is beneficial, communication is always the key. St. Clair concluded that the difficulty in establishing rapport was seen in their shifting attitudes of "suspiciousness" or "submissiveness toward the counselor.[23] Walter A. Adams, in an article, "The Negro Patient in Psychiatric Treatment," pointed out how careful white counselors must be in the choice of words with Blacks.[24] This points up what has been a problem and simultaneously the opportunity the Black Pastor has in counseling Blacks. The pastor's ability to communicate in the language of his people, and to create a more natural setting, in which counseling takes place, should heighten its value for them.

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[22] Martin H. Jones and Martin C. Jones, "The Neglected Client," in Reginald L. Jones, p. 195 f.

[23] Harvey R. St. Clair, "Psychiatric Interview Experiences with Negroes," The American Journal of Psychiatry, 108, no. 2 (August 1951), 113 f.

[24] Adams, p. 305.

COUNSELING BLACK FAMILIES AND LIBERATION

The Black Pastor as Family Counselor

The Black Pastor counsels families as a representative of the extended Black family, the Black Church. When the pastor visits members it is not only as their minister but as a member of their families. He is never a mere professional, performing a perfunctory role. The pastor helps those family members who are his brothers and sisters in the faith. This points to the traditional unity of the Black Church and the Black family. Deotis Roberts states the reason for this unity: "The Black church, as a social and religious body, has served as a kind of extended family for Blacks. In a real sense, then, thousands of Blacks who have never known real family life have discovered the meaning of real kinship in the Black Church."[25]

As a member of each family, part of the Black Pastor's task is to draw upon the historic unity of the Black Church and the Black family. The Pastor realizes that strong families make for a strong church. The Pastor is aware that problems encountered with various members in the church closely parallel problems in their families. Stewart says, regarding the minister's relationship to families, that he holds a "key position." He can prepare couples for marriage. As their pastor, he is close to their problems. He has access to the homes of his members, and they have access to him. They will look upon him as a "good man" and his home as an example of Christian family living.[26]

In addition, the Black Pastor can amplify the importance of the church as a primary institution (with the school and the family). The

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[25] J. D. Roberts, Liberation and Reconciliation: A Black Theology (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), p. 64.

[26] Charles William Stewart, The Minister as Marriage Counselor (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970), p. 16 f.

Pastor demonstrates how essential it is to the spiritual and domestic welfare of the family. Considering the history of the Black Church, its central role in the survival of the race, and the increasing rise of domestic turmoil among Blacks, pastoral counseling is critical for the survival of both. Andrew Billingsley, eminent authority on Black family life, said that ". . . the Black church and the Black family--in that order--might well be the last battleground in our struggle for survival."[37]

This means that the Black Pastor will have to be sensitive to the destructive factors in Black family life and focus the church's ministry toward combating them. Along with the attempt to destroy the Black family during slavery, the general decline of the family in Western society, the Black family continued to suffer as a direct result of migration to the cities and the devastating impact of urbanization. Urbanization, as a destructive factor, particularly in the Black ghetto, continues to take its toll on the Black family. This development altered the emphasis of the Black church with respect to its historic relationship to Black family life from an eschatological concern towards social needs. Scanzoni described the situation:

> Church and family structures became closely interlocked and highly interdependent. The religious structure became the vehicle whereby the dominant pattern of the monogamous and stable family with male as head and provider, became institutionalized among Black American culture. The migration to the cities changed the character of the black church and its relations to the family from basic concerns with the after life to prime focus on the needs of this life.[28]

Scanzoni, referring to the powerful importance of parental religion in Black society, concluded that "it played the kind of role that historically has characterized the linkage between church and black family. Specifically, it transmitted and reinforced values and

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[27] Andrew Billingsley, Black Families and the Struggle for Survival (New York: Friendship Press, 1974), p. 16 f.

[28] John H. Scanzoni, The Black Family in Modern Society (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), p. 50.

behaviors. . . ." The Black Pastor must continue to "reinforce values and behaviors" in counseling, and include dealing with the destructive factors in Black family life, which are closely related to economic deprivation among Blacks. Economic deprivation is at the heart of the Black family's deterioration and the prolonged oppression of Black people. The situation can be partly rectified by counseling that builds on the traditional strengths of Black families, heretofore denied due to the pathological view of most studies.

Focusing on the traditional strengths of Black families can guide the Black Pastor in dealing with those areas which improve family life and where the church might focus its ministry. Robert B. Hill, Director of the Research Department of The National Urban League, outlined them in The Strengths of Black Families. They are: strong kinship bonds, a strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation.[30]

The high rate of absorbing individuals, especially minors and the elderly, and the absorption of families and informal adoption, have made for strong kinship bonds among Blacks. Attitudes toward work are high among Blacks, and double wage earners are found in most Black families. One-parent families headed by women are high; and while desertion is high and despite tremendous economic stress, suicide rarely occurs. Most Black families adapt to the situation. A strong achievement orientation is one of the unheralded strengths of Black families. Religion, of course, is a traditional strength of Black families.

Further rectification of the destructive factors of the Black family can be countered by the church program in its educational ministry to families. A program of religion and family living is needed

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[29] Ibid., p. 52.

[30] Robert B. Hill, The Strengths of Black Families (New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, 1977), p. 5 f.

in most Black churches. Many Black churches are strong on evangelical and revivalistic tactics for winning members to the church, but are weak in providing ministries that assist them in dealing with the disruptive pressures of contemporary living. In counseling families the Black Pastor's goal is to strengthen the self-worth of the individual members and their ability to function as a nurturing family unit. He not only wants to strengthen the family in relation to each other but also to the world around them.

How the Black Pastor augments the quality of family life will depend largely on his ability to challenge the church to continue to fulfill its sociohistoric role as the extended Black family and to be a family to its members. Billingsley, writing for the Committee on Ministries with Black families of the Black Christian Education Project of the National Council of Churches, raised some important questions for Black Pastors and churches:

> (1) What should be the goal of Black family life?
>
> (2) How might the church go about assisting Black grandparents, parents, youth and children in the struggle of positive human development?
>
> (3) Given the historical character of the Black families' existence and the continuing forces of disintegration, what should the Black church be about in terms of nurturing the strengths of Black families?
>
> (4) Where should the Black family fit within the programmatic priorities of the church?[31]

The Black Pastor and Family Members

In counseling the Black male family member, the Black Pastor must be aware of several psychosocial factors which have shaped his experience. One factor is the psychology of castration, which has its roots deep in slavery. An attempt was made to strip the Black male of every semblance of manhood, which has been pointed to as a primary reason for the pathology of the Black family. Lincoln, referring to what this did to the Black family, said: "In fact, the blame rests on the horrors of a slave society which stripped the Negro male of his masculinity and condemned him to a eunuchlike existence in a culture which venerates masculine primacy."[32]

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[31] Billingsley, Struggle for Survival, p. 9.

Lincoln, writing in the early sixties, went on to describe the debasing social and interpersonal burden this placed on the Black male:

> The psychology of castration was viciously applied. . . . No Negro man was given a title of respect, a practice which continues in much of the rural South today. A Negro man was simply "Sam," "Jim," or frequently "boy," no matter what his age. He was never "Mister." If he was living with a woman--the nearest thing to marriage--he was known as "Hattie's Sam" or "Mandy's Jim" again denying him a position as head of the family. And if the white man wanted Hattie or Mandy for himself, the Negro male had to step aside; interference as a "husband" meant severe punishment, not infrequently, death.[33]

In recent years, the psychology of castration is questioned in terms of its end product or what Robert Staples called "The Myth of the Impotent Black Male." Staples believed this was simply a self-serving device used by the oppressor to keep Blacks economically if not personally enslaved. He said: "This assault on black masculinity is made precisely because black males are men; not because they are impotent and that is an important distinction to make."[34] He added: "White Americans will continue to perpetuate the myth of the impotent Black male as long as it serves their purpose."[35]

A second factor shaping the Black male's experience is economic injustice. His inability "to protect" his family correlates with the inability "to provide" for his family. He has been denied the right to earn an adequate wage, let alone to secure advantages and meaningful employment. He was rejected as unworthy of the Protestant ethic of individual fulfillment. Relegated to the bottom of the economic ladder in American life, he was "the last hired and the first fired." Manual labor was his lot.

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[32] C. Eric Lincoln, Sounds of the Struggle (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1967), p. 164.

[33] Ibid., p. 165.

[34] Robert Staples, "The Myth of the Impotent Black Male," The Black Scholar, 2, 10 (June 1971), 2.

[35] Ibid., p. 9.

Scanzoni held the view that this contributed to the "Denigration of the Black Male Self-Concept": "Being told he was 'inferior and incapable of economic achievement,' the black male gradually came to believe it."[36] Staples' view, however, suggests that it was more a matter of the economic system developed against the Black male in America. "In a capitalistic society, being able to provide basic life satisfactions is inextricably interwoven with manhood. It is the opportunity to provide for his family, both individually and collectively, which has been denied the black man."[37] The Black Pastor is well aware that emotional problems and the quality of relations in the average Black family are compounded if the male is unable to find gainful employment and an adequate income. His chances were certainly less than his white counterpart. Society accepted white and rejected the Black.

A third factor is the widespread problem of absentee fathers in the Black families. Lincoln said: "The Absentee Father Haunts the Negro Home." Related problems are the abnormally high increase in illegitimacy, desertion, and divorce in Black families. Also related are school dropouts, drugs, and crime among Black youth. The general pathology in the Black family reflects a sense of hopelessness and despair. The fabled Moynihan Report lists father absenteeism as one of the key factors behind "The Tangle of Pathology" surrounding the Black family.[38]

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[35] Ibid., p. 9. [36] Scanzoni, p. 5.

[36] Staples, "Myth of the Impotent Black Male," p. 4.

[37] Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Moynihan Report: Challenge and Response," in Robert Staples, ed., The Black Family (Belmont, CA:

This view is somewhat questioned by those who believe that Black families are more likely to be extended families, and a variety of persons may fulfill the role of father.[39] The Black Pastor's concern here is the Black male's indispensable role in maintaining a healthy balance, insofar as family security and identity are concerned.

The goal in counseling the Black male is to help him to continue fighting for his manhood and to overcome the interpersonal and social impediments or attempts at psychological castration and economic powerlessness. In fact, the Black Pastor must put a premium on the development of Black manhood. This means helping him to achieve a healthy masculinity, not one of overcompensation but of inner confidence as man. As "a confidence builder," the Black Pastor is sensitive to strengthening his image and role as a father in his home.

Cobbs and Grier have discussed the perplexing problem of "acquiring manhood" for the Black male.

> For the black man in this country, it is not so much a matter of acquiring manhood as it is a struggle to feel it his own. Whereas the white man regards his manhood as an ordained right, the Black man is engaged in a never-ending battle for its possession. For the Black man, attaining any portion of manhood is an active process.[40]

Clemmont Vontress, a professor at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., said: "Emphasis is always placed on being 'a man' in a society that suppresses black manhood."[41] In the language of

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Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971), p. 37. This controversial report is attacked as being invalid by Black family scholars and others who believe that Black families are extended families, which the report en tirely lverlooked in basing its thesis on pathology in the Black family as related to female headed households.

[39] E. Earl Baughman, Black Americans (New York: Academic Press, 1971), p. 79.

[40] William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1978), p. 59.

[41] Clemmont E. Vontress, "The Black Male Personality," The Black Scholar, 2, 10 (June 1971), 15.

Transactional Analysis (T.A.), the Black male has had to live a Not OK existence. Such is the lot of Liebow's "Negro Streetcorner Men."[42]

In counseling the Black female, the Black Pastor needs to be aware that her problems are normally an extension of the Black male's plight. Often trapped in the middle since slavery, she served as a "go-between" her family and the white world, for purposes of economic survival. Staples, prominent authority on the Black family, said this was the predicament of the Black woman up to and after the postemancipation era.[43] The contemporary result is a large number of females as heads of the household. According to Lincoln, "In the ruptured economy of the postwar South, Negro women were frequently paid more than their menfolk and they could ordinarily find jobs in domestic service while their men walked the streets looking for work."[44]

Some have surmised that this created the problems of the "emasculated black male" and a "matriarchal" family system among Blacks. Moynihan and others believe this is the key to the deteriorating Black family. The Black Pastor, however, should be aware that the "myth of the Black Matriarchy" (a deeply held belief even by many Blacks) has been exposed as a fallacy in recent years. The Black Pastor should be sensitive in counseling those Black females who have been deceived into believing that they have carried the race and their men have failed. He should also be sensitive to how this attitude deepens what may be today a widening schism in Black male-female relations.[45]

Robert Staples, in a revealing article, entitled "The Myth of the Black Matriarchy," said:

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[42] See Elliot Liebow, Tally's Corner (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), p. 29 f.

[43] Robert Staples, The Black Woman in America (Chicago: Nelson Hall Publishers, 1973), p. 9 f.

[44] Lincoln, Sounds of the Struggle, p. 166.

[45] Newsweek Magazine, August 27, 1979.

> The myth of a Black matriarchy is a cruel hoax. It is adding insult to injury to Black liberation. For the Black female, her objective reality is a society where she is economically exploited because she is both female and Black; she must face the inevitable situation of *a shortage of Black males* because they have been taken out of circulation by America's neo-colonialist wars, railroaded into prisons, or killed off early by the effects of ghetto living conditions. To label her a matriarch is a classical example of what Malcolm X called making the victim the criminal.[46]

The Black Pastor's goal is to counsel the Black female in being a mate and the least of the family support system. She must also be counseled not to play upon the Black male's insecurities, for her liberation is intimately bound to his. Exploited as an economic tool and social object, being used for purposes of cheap labor, forced the Black male in a surplus labor market. This situation compounded the oppression of both, too often leaving the male unemployed and the female on welfare.

Jacquelyne Jackson, Associate Professor of Medical Sociology at Duke University Medical Center raised a contemporary question for the Black female, "But Where Are the Men?" She said: "Ultimately, Black women must be concerned with resolution of the issue of an insufficient supply of males. . . ."[47] She concluded: ". . . the critical issues confronting many Black women are not those of Black matriarchy or Black female emasculation of the male, but merely that of, 'But where are the men?'"[48] The problem is highly pronounced, as reported by Newsweek Magazine on August 27, 1979: "For Black women, there are simply not enough men to go around. According to 1977 census data, there were 732,000 more Black females than males within the 24-44 year-old age group."[49]

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[46] Staples, The Black Family, p. 149.

[47] Jacquelyne J. Jackson, "But Where Are the Men?" The Black Scholar, 3, 4 (December 1971), 41.

[48] Ibid.

Another dimension of the Black female's problem concerns how the degradation of the Black male has damaged her as a female. More specifically, the problem has to do with the interpersonal stigma she has had to live with and the social burden of being both Black and female. Ladner, representing the new school of Black sociological interpreters, pointed to her psychosocial dilemma.

> The highly functional role that the Black female has historically played has caused her to be erroneously stereotyped as a matriarchate, and this label has been quite injurious to Black women and men. It has caused a considerable amount of frustration and emasculation within Black men because it implies that they are incapable of fulfilling the responsibilities for the care and protection of their families. It has also caused certain added responsibilities to be placed on the shoulders of the Black woman because of the larger societal expectation of her that was in conformation with this stereotyped conception.[50]

Much has been said of the Black male's difficulty in "achieving manhood," but little has been said about the Black woman's difficulty in "achieving womanhood." The very antithesis of the American ideal of beauty and femininity, her psychosocial predicament did not allow her to develop a healthy sense of womanhood. Only recently has she completely thrown off the shackles of the past and come to accept herself as a person to be admired and appreciated.[51] Today, the situation has been reversed. She has come to be highly romanticized. The romanticization of the Black female, however, is based on false conceptions and stereotypes of the past.[52]

In counseling, the Black Pastor's ultimate goal is to help the

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[50] Joyce A. Ladner, Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1971), p. 24.

[51] Cobbs and Grier, p. 19.

[52] Ladner, Tomorrow's Tomorrow, p. 41. The implication for counseling is that the Black woman needs liberation as a female and because she is Black.

Black male and female understand what has happened to both, especially how their mutual oppression has been designed to undermine one another in the eyes of the other. The "shadow of the plantation" still hangs over Black male-female relations. The Black Pastor must teach Black males and females to stand by each other. The Black female must come to realize that her oppression made the Black male less than a man in her eyes. His oppression has made him less than a man in her eyes.

Finally, in counseling Black children, the Black Pastor's primary concern is that while the youth may not have been a part of the oppression of their forefathers and mothers or parents, they will also go through life in this society experiencing oppression because they are Black. The Black Pastor must help Black children to realize the tremendous costs paid for their liberation and the life they now enjoy. The youth must realize that while the slave experience is far removed from their consciousness, something their parents told them about and which they read about in Black study courses, its insidious persistence has taken various forms since its inception. Any realistic appraisal of the Black experience in America must bear this in mind and can be repeated.

Speaking of the Black child, Phyllis Harrison-Ross and Barbara Wyden have put the matter into perspective. "The Black child. He bears the Black man's burden. He has to cope with his family's feelings of being different, of being discriminated against, of rage, or pride. His inheritance is his mother's and father's experience in a white world."[53]

The Black Pastor and the Black church have their greatest challenge in loving and caring for children. The children are the future vanguard of the race, and Church school ministries can do much to secure their liberation. The Sunday School, Vacation Bible School, and

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[53] Phyllis Harrison-Ross and Barbara Wyden, The Black Child (New York: Peter H. Wyden, Inc. Publisher, 1973), p. xxiii.

Saturday Church School Recreation programs should stress image building and confidence building. Those Black churches with Day Care Ministries have the added advantage of helping the child to establish a good foundation for development, meeting each crisis with appropriate resolve.[54]

Poussaint raised an important question for parents of Black children, and one which the Black Pastor can employ in counseling. The question is not only important for Black parents but also for Black Church leaders working with children. What shall I tell my child? He believes the Black child must be told the value of community as opposed to individualism; the need to accept the fact that he or she is Black; the dignity of all people regardless of race; the importance of feeling good about oneself (self-esteem); the life-long value of personal confidence; the need to avoid compensatory responses; to be able to express appropriate anger, aggression; and not to be rigid.[55] The Black Pastor may find certain socialization techniques helpful in counseling Black children and helping his leaders to work with them; imitation and modeling, reward and punishment (reinforcement), and the inculcation of goals and aspiration.[56]

With Black youth the problem is even more critical. Understanding the cruciality of this period for overcoming what Eric Erikson calls "identity confusion" and how it can retard later adulthood is mandatory. The Black Pastor needs to be aware of the fact that normal development toward a "healthy identity" is highly compounded for most Black youth. Staples has pointed out how the colonialism of America has and is destroying Black youth. The difficulty of laying a foundation for an

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[54] Danny Wilks, "Save the Children," The Black Scholar, 4, 8-9 (May-June 1973), 15 f. This author pointed up the importance of the mother as a counselor, and the federal threat to eliminate day care programs.

[55] Poussaint, Why Blacks Kill Blacks, p. 102 f.

[56] Baughman, p. 85 f.

adult identity is related to a political economy that allows for "a very high unemployment rate among Black youth,"[57] too often forcing them into the military for economic survival. He said: "Afro-American youth now comprise the largest segment of the industrial reserve army."[58]

Those who do not find their way to the military drop out of school, because the family needs additional income; they must work. Educational opportunities are limited to Black youth, but the door to crime, violence, and death at an early age are wide open. Staples added: "Their suicide rate has long been higher than their white counterparts in certain cities such as New York and Washington D.C., although it is normally higher for whites than Blacks."[59]

The Black Pastor may find his biggest counseling responsibility with Black youth in the area of vocational choices and getting them to face the economic realities of life. The Black Pastor and the Board of Christian Education must do for Black youth what the public schools are not doing and are not equipped to do. For example, a Black youth often does not receive adequate vocational counseling when he or she enters the senior year in high school. Large graduating classes, too few vocational counselors, and no one available who understands and can deal with those problems peculiar to Blacks reveal the enormity of the problems. If the Black Pastor and the Board do not accept responsibility many young Blacks will pass through life at a grave disadvantage and experience immediately disheartening setbacks which can destroy self-esteem and motivation.

The Black Pastor and Family Kinship

In counseling Black Christian families, the Black Pastor's greatest contribution is teaching them the meaning of belonging to one another. Each member is a part of the other. Nothing can happen to any member without affecting everyone. Individualism has no place in the family, except where each member discovers his or her uniqueness in relation to the whole. Family members not only live for themselves, but they also live for each other. What belongs to one belongs to all. If one advances all advance. Their sorrows and their joys are mutually shared. Private concerns become family concerns, and the family unit functions in the best interest of each member.

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[57] Robert Staples, "To Be Young, Black and Oppressed," The Black Scholar, 7, 4 (December 1975), 3.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., p. 8.

This explains much about what is called an "expressive function" of family life. The Black Pastoral counselor is concerned about this dynamic of Black family life. A family is supposed to provide among other things "psychic security" and enhance "the mental health function of the family,"[60] according to Billingsley, quoting several authorities. This provides "the kind of atmosphere which generates a sense of belonging, a self-worth, self-awareness, and dignity. Another important function of the family is the provision of companionship. Still a third is the generation and propagation of the various forms of love."[61]

The Black Pastor's concern for the "psychic security" and "mental health function of the family" is a challenge to interpret the spiritual principles of shared experience. Living with each other is not an easy proposition in American society. The astronomical divorce rate alone is a testimony to this fact. The decline of family life in this country, and the historic attempt to destroy the Black family, to say nothing of living in a pressurized world, point this up. The Black Pastor's task of getting Black Christians and families to continue taking part in each other's lives is monumental. The social climate of the times reflects how little time people have for each other, and often prevents them from contributing to each other's emotional well-being.

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[60] Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 26.

[61] Ibid.

The spiritual principles of shared experience have to do with the quality of interchange, personal and mutual growth. Healthy is that church and family which can freely give to one another. Healthy is that church and family where individuals can develop on their own and simultaneously in relation to others. Thus shared experience is a nurturing process for everyone.

Family therapists, like Nathan W. Ackerman, have stressed that the family is a psychosocial entity. The emotional climate of family life is continuously evolving, aiding or negating the give-and-take of family relationships. Family stability hinges on a pattern of emotional balance and interchange. The family is where people belong to each other and share each other's lives. This is why the family is the basic unit of growth and development. It is also the basic unit of illness and health, fulfillment and failure.[62]

One way the Black Pastor can move Black Christians and families toward the spiritual principles of shared experience is by promoting corporate and communal values. Such values have been lost in the highly individualistic and capitalistic culture of America. Unfortunately, a rising middle class of Blacks is adopting these values. As a result the Black family is being further destroyed. To reverse the situation the Black Pastor can advise Black Christians and families to make every effort to retain the original form of Black family and church life.

This means the African kinship system, or restoring the broken network. Billingsley pointed out that the African family was

> . . . not primarily--or even essentially--the affair of two people who happened to be married to each other. It united not simply two people, but two families with a network of extended kin who had considerable influence on the family, and considerable responsibility for its development and well-being. Marriage could neither be entered into nor abandoned without substantial community support.[63]

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[62] See Nathan W. Ackerman, Treating the Troubled Family (New York: Basic Books Publishers, 1966), p. 58 f.

[63] Billingsley, Black Families in White America, p. 39. Cf.

Furthermore, "family life was highly articulated with the rest of society. The family was an economic and a religious unit which, through its ties with wider kinship circles, was also a political unit."[64]

In more descriptive words, Billingsley said that Black families have the characteristics of the African kinship system:

> But in order to capture what we mean by Black families, it is more useful to think of people who are related, and people who feel that they themselves belong to each other. We must think of people who live together in the same house, and people who feel themselves to be closely related, but who live in different houses and often in different locations altogether . . . when we think of Black families, we must think of very strong bonds of kinship.[65]

Billingsley's description of the African kinship system is supported and elaborated on by Thomas. He said this even extends to the deceased, as long as they are remembered by some family survivor.

> Marriage, in the African heritage, is like an axis around which the human life cycle turns. It is one of the phases in the incorporation process. Individuals become persons as they are incorporated into the communal nature of the social life. The process of incorporation is a particular kind of social rhythm that harmonizes social obligations and expectations in space and time; Generations are linked in time and relationships are linked in space. Through the medium of sex in marriage, marriage

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Edward P. Wimberly, "Pastoral Counseling and the Black Perspective," The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center, 3, 2 (Spring 1976), 29. The nature of pastoral care and counseling in the Black Church is corporate for several reasons. We mean by the term "corporate" that the care of the individual is the function of the total community rather than the function of the Pastor or any other specially designated person who possesses specialized skills.

[64] Billingsley, Black Families in White America, p. 40. There is a strong feeling among many Black Christians for an earlier model of Black family life, where every person is a relative in some way to every other person in the community. Family life is not a private affair of two individuals with children, but they are part of a larger network of kinship relationships.

[65] Billingsley, Struggle for Survival, p. 11.

> becomes the socially approved context for the cycle of procreation which perpetuates humanity. Incorporation is therefore the critical process whereby birth provides the link in the chain of humanity, and the living-dead is the link with immortality. Marriage merges families. Families form kinship networks. Kinship networks form communities, societies and nations. The corporate existence undergirds and strengthens the collective consciousness, expressed in terms of "our children," "our people," "our community" for the living, and "our ancestors" for the living dead.[66]

Today the Black Church as well as the Black family may be in danger of losing the values of corporality and communality which these respective though inclusive institutions inherited from the African kinship system. As indicated, the ethics of individualism and capitalism have made deep inroads into the thinking of many Blacks. The deadly assimilation of this position may well mean the end of the Black family and its corporate and communal nature. The Black Pastor can counsel Black Christians and families to counter this cancerous disease on the Black family by a regular schedule of family-centered activities and church activities which embrace them.

The Black Pastor must counsel Black Christians and families that when they become totally separate, following the dangerous idea of "doing your own thing," the final destruction of the Black family and the Black Church may not be far away. Black Christians and families must maintain what Wade Nobles, a firm believer that Black people are an African people by philosophical definition as well as by place of origin, calls a "sense of 'Africanity.'" This is, for him, "the hidden strength in Black families." Nobles said:

> Overarching the notion of family is the concept of kinship which as a system was based on the philosophical principle of the "Oneness of Being" or *one with nature*. Behaviorally and structurally this principle translated into the idea of interdependence. That is, all elements are interdependent and interconnected. Structurally, the individual is embedded in a web of "interdependent"

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[66] George B. Thomas, Young Black Adults: Liberation and Family Attitudes (New York: Friendship Press, 1974), p. 12.

> relations with all the other elements of the family. The idea of a family or kinship consequently assigned to each individual their position in the system of descent and marriage, while at the same time it defined attitudes, functions and behaviors. Psychologically, the individual existed insofar as he belonged to a family line and was *situated* in interdependent relations to others within the family or kinship line. The family is, therefore, experienced not on a quasibiological level by all its members, but it is also experienced as a veritable institution of *social solidarity* and *psychological security*.[67]

The African kinship system, with its deeply ingrained values of corporality and communality, kept its members from becoming separated and isolated. It is based on the assumption that people need each other and cannot do without each other. The American way, with its emphasis on materialism and success, points in the opposite direction, and is directly responsible for the problem of role confusion in families. This problem, in recent years, has infiltrated the Black family, driving Black men and women further apart. In the African kinship system, the male is a provider, protector, the spiritual head and teacher of the family. The female is the heart of the family emotional support system with all members revolving around her. Children and the young insure the family's extension into time and space. This is an appropriate model and a viable one for the Black Pastor in counseling Black Christians and families. It is designed to keep Black folk together as a people. This is his or her ultimate pastoral task.

Black people have been hurt. That hurt is familial. It is here where the Black Pastor must do the best counseling. Virginia Satir, a family therapist, said: "When one person in a family has pain all members are feeling this pain in some way."[68] The hurt that occurs in the family must in turn be healed in the family. Healing takes place where people come together for each other (corporality) and where they minister to each other (communality). The Black Pastor must educate Black Christians and families not to lose this type of family life. It is the salvation of Black people. For Black Christians and families today, this means liberation from oppression, the opportunity to enjoy something denied their mothers and fathers. The pastoral task is to strengthen the position of the Black father as the leader in the home and the mother as a full partner. The focus is on their mutual responsibility for the family unit.

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[67] Wade W. Nobles, "Africanity: Its Role in Black Families," The Black Scholar, 5, 9 (June 1974), 16. (Italics mine.)

[68] Virginia Satir, Conjoint Family Therapy (Palo Alto, CA: Science and Behavior Books, Inc., 1967), p. 1.

SHEPHERDING AND COUNSELING BLACK CHRISTIANS

Preaching, Counseling, and Black Christians

In counseling Black Christians and families the Black Pastor can take full advantage of the weekly opportunity to preach the Liberating Word to them. The obvious advantage is what Reverend Lacy K. Curry, a Black Pastor in the Mount Calvary Baptist Church in Chicago, Illinois, pointed out: "You can counsel the whole group at one time!" This becomes a reality when preaching addresses the interpersonal and domestic needs of people. Today, there is a large need in the Black Church for preaching that helps people to understand what is going on inside themselves and between others, along with addressing everyday problems.

Harry Emerson Fosdick and Leslie D. Weatherhead discovered that the Word of God becomes personal counseling on a group scale when it focuses on the real problems of the man or woman in the pew, and people feel that their "real needs" are being directly addressed. This is the strength of the counseling sermon, and it makes preaching come alive at a depth level. People can leave after hearing a sermon, saying I felt as if the pastor was talking to me.

Most sermons in the Black Church are evangelistic, and their goal is personal salvation. The focus is on accepting Christ and "being saved." Many sermons in the Black Church are prophetic, but they do not appear to be abundant, except where the pastor has a heavy social-political consciousness. Rarely do you hear the counseling sermon in the Black Church. Seemingly the high level of social pathology and widespread domestic turmoil among Blacks would merit more counseling sermons. Preaching on personal salvation and the social-political situation becomes almost meaningless when people are interpersonally, intrapersonally, and domestically "bogged down."

The Black Pastor must help Black Christians and families to learn how to deal with themselves and each other. If liberation is going to become a real possibility for Blacks, there should be more preaching on relationships. This is where oppression has done its worst damage on Black people, straining relations and making it difficult for Blacks to deal with each other. Liberation ultimately means Black people coming together for themselves and each other.

The counseling sermon can help people to deal with themselves and each other. James Earl Massey, a Black Pentecostal and professor of homiletics at Anderson Graduate School of Theology has written:

> 1. As counsel, *the sermon helps to clarify life*. It can help men handle the confusion that experience often brings.
> 2. *The sermon that counsels can help the hearer become centered for a right look at himself and his* experiences.
> 3. The counseling sermon does more than clarify life and help the hearer to become centered for committed action; *that sermon also complements life,* providing that powerful plus element associated with the Gospel.
> 4. *The counseling effect of a sermon is assisted most acutely when a sense of community prevails between preacher and people.*
> 5. There is yet another observation to be made about the counseling sermon; *it gains in effectiveness when our words and style are in keeping with what we seek to convey and do.*[69]

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[69] James Earl Massey, The Sermon in Perspective (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1976), p. 57 f. Cf. Howard Thurman, With Head and Heart (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), p. 160. Therman pointed to the therapeutic value of worship as a means of precluding counseling. Perhaps the most amazing disclosure was the fact that, again and again, individuals who had scheduled appointments for

Clinebell and Bartlett have already outlined how the counseling sermon enhances mental health and is a natural by-product of pastoral work.[70] How effective the Black Pastor is with this approach to preaching depends on a concern for the mental health of the people, the nature and the quality of pastoral relationship with them. Black people will not readily accept counsel unless the pastor means something "special" and "personal" to them. This means that he must establish intimacy and trust, where they will accept this counsel. The father figure emerges larger in the minds of Black Christians than any expertise as a preacher or training as a counselor.

Massey was aware of the importance of the father figure in the Black church as someone "personal" and "special" to the membership. He was also aware of how this is directly related to his effectiveness, success or failure as their pastor.

> This concept of the pastor as father is still strongly influential in the Black Church tradition which shaped my life. In our tradition the preacher's leadership is spiritually necessary and psychologically strategic. *The black congregation stands or falls by the kind of fathering the preacher makes available through his life.* It might well be said that in some cases, perhaps the majority, when members leave a Black church it is due primarily to disorder of deficiencies in relating to the preacher rather than problems with anyone else in the church![71]

When the Black Pastor counsels through the sermon the role as the cultural and spiritual leader of the extended Black family takes on significance. Massey was aware of this significance.

> As preacher to the flock, the black minister is also a father figure, "the center of a group," nurturing the members, binding

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counseling canceled, because in total worship experience their needs had been met." (Italics his.)

[70] See p. 77 f. in Howard J. Clinebell, Jr., Mental Health Through Christian Community (New York: Abingdon Press, 1965), and Gene E. Bartlett, "The Preaching and Pastoral Rules," in Paul B. Maves, ed., The Church and Mental Health (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 109 f.

[71] James Earl Massey, The Responsible Pulpit (Anderson, Ind.:

> the family through his contacts and commitment, guiding the members in growth, encouraging them in distress, and assisting them in the development of faith and competencies. . . . Our Black Church tradition still honors this image. . . . *A part of the strong sense of church membership among blacks, however, must be credited to the family concept in our church life.*[72]

Moreover, the Black Pastor is cognizant of the therapeutic value of the counseling sermon. If anything, the counseling sermon should offer healing. Reverend William "Bill" Brent, pastor of the Evening Star Baptist Church and President of the Baptist Minister's Fellowship in Los Angeles, California, said that many of the preachers he was teaching in a seminary extension program in his church were given to preaching abrasive sermons, as reflected by their topics and thrust. He told his students that when people come to church, "they come because they want to be healed, and they don't want to hear a lot of mess!"

The best of Black preaching is therapeutic when it is existential, confrontational, and challenges for responsibility. Black Christians are helped to find meaning in life, to face up to their predicament, and to take positive action. It is also therapeutic when it is in keeping with the style of the Black preaching tradition. Massey listed five characteristics of the sermon in the Black Church:

1. the sermon is *functional*. It is designed to help some person.
2. the sermon is *festive*. It deals with live on a concrete level.
3. the sermon is *communal*. It aids a sense of group life.
4. the sermon is *radical*. It takes the hearer to the roots of life.
5. the sermon is *climatic*. It leaves an impression on the hearer.[73]

Warner Press, 1974), p. 63. (Italics mine.)

[72] Ibid., p. 64. (Italics mine.)

[73] Massey, The Responsible Pulpit, p. 101 f.

The therapeutic counseling sermon in the Black Church develops when there is interaction between preacher and congregation. Therapeutic components in the counseling sermon for the Black Pastor are care, dialogue, and contagion. The Black Pastor demonstrates for Black Christians and families, creating a "lively" verbal response, the product of their experience as pastor and people, the end result of which for many will be "shouting" or "getting happy." A spiritual catharsis occurs to the emotional and spiritual well-being of everyone. The foregoing depends on how in tune the Black Pastor is with the people's needs. Many Black Pastors, trapped by the "preacher boy syndrome," fail at this point. This is attributable to the tremendous religious style and cultural pressure to be a successful preacher in the Black Church, which is erroneously measured by the preacher's ability to move a crowd emotionally, more than by preaching to their needs. While emotion is essential in preaching to Blacks on a cultural level, preaching to their needs is more important for their ultimate liberation.

Harry Emerson Fosdick offered helpful and sobering counsel to preachers who do not get in touch with the needs of their people and are given to the lures of the crowd for popular preacher appeal. He said:

> Indeed, I distrust a preacher to whom sermons seem the crux of his functioning. The temptations of a popular preacher--if he is only that--are devastating. He is applauded by fans, credited with a Christian selflessness he cannot claim, and enticed by many listeners to think of himself much more highly than he ought to think; what may be mainly ingenious rhetoric and well trained eloquence, motivated by subtle exhibitionism, is taken for divine afflatus. To preach a "successful" sermon, to feel the rouse of a responsive audience, to hold in one's hands the concentrated attention of spellbound congregations, is a thrilling experience. Let any preacher who has such an experience go humbly home and pray to be delivered from its seductions! Only the grace of God can deliver him--that and *a genuine care for persons*, so that to him, as to Jesus, *all that matters in a crowd is the opportunity to get vitally in touch with some individual*.[74]

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[74] Harry Emerson Fosdick, The Living of These Days (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 216 f. (Italics mine.)

Teaching, Counseling, and Black Christians

In counseling Black Christians and families the Black Pastor needs to teach the Liberating Word at every opportunity. As Black Christians and families move more and more toward liberation, the Black Pastor will need to provide more factual information. An informed mind is the key to liberation. Teaching through counseling is especially significant in the light of the mental damage which Blacks have suffered under oppression. Information builds knowledge, and knowledge sheds light. Oppression is designed to keep Blacks in the dark. Information and therefore knowledge has been kept from them.

There are five ways in which counseling that teaches is helpful. The emphases of the Rational-Emotive therapy are helpful.

First, counseling that teaches is helpful for thinking. The Black Pastor must help the people to think clearly about themselves, each other, and their common lot. The Pastor's ability to do this depends on how clear the Pastor's own thinking may be. He discovers that many members are blocked from liberation because of faulty thinking. Faulty thinking is the by-product of ignorance, and oppression is designed to keep Black people ignorant. As long as Black people are left in ignorance, they can be controlled. Clear thinking allows the people to move forward.

Second, counseling that teaches is helpful for judging. The Black Pastor must help Black people to make the right judgments about themselves and each other. Judging is based on one's perception and evaluation of the situation at that particular time. A person cannot make accurate judgment unless he or she has a healthy outlook on life. This is paramount regarding judgment about oneself and others. The Black Pastor must be sensitive to those members with distorted judgment on matters. They can inadvertently defeat their own liberation.

Third, counseling that teaches is helpful for analyzing. The Black Pastor must help Black Christians analyze what are the best choices of action. Failure to analyze their choices clearly will leave them blind to whatever is before them. They are responsible for their choices, and they must not hold others to blame. The Black Pastor's task is simply to make sure that the people know what their alternatives are and what they can decide.

Fourth, counseling that teaches is helpful for doing. The Black Pastor must help Black Christians to realize that they cannot sit still. They must do something about their situation, take some type of creative and productive action. Not to do something about their situation is hypocritical, and simply prolongs a state of oppression. The Black Pastor must help Black Christians to realize that they must take their own liberation in their hands, whenever and however and wherever necessary. To do less is to impede and to render themselves ineffective in improving their plight.

Fifth, counseling that teaches is helpful for redeciding. The Black Pastor must help Black Christians to see that no one is perfect and all are subject to mistakes. They can always rethink the matter. They can reanalyze their choices, where they have the opportunity. They can always redo the situation, where it is possible. They can recheck their judgments where they have been wrong. Redeciding simply means that there may be a better way to move forward eliminating oppression and securing liberation, based on prior and current experience. Redeciding further means that new knowledge has come into view, and there is a better way of doing things. The Black Pastor will help the people to redecide things where it is strategically beneficial.

Along this line, Howard J. Clinebell spoke of "educative pastoral counseling" as one of "the minister's finest counseling opportunities."[75] He said: "Educative counseling goes far beyond merely imparting information . . . it helps the person understand, evaluate, and then apply the information that is relevant to constructive coping with his particular life situation."[76] Educative pastoral counseling then should help people to think, judge, analyze, do, and redecide about their "life situations."

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[75] Clinebell, Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling, p. 190.

One of the goals of educative counseling is to "help" the person utilize this information to enhance his or her understanding,"facilitate a wise decision, or handle a difficult situation constructively."[77] The Black Pastor must help the people realize that oppression is built upon a highly rationalistic system that is philosophically sound to its creators. Part of the Black Pastor's goal is to help Black Christians uncover irrational thinking about themselves. Several techniques of Rational-Emotive Therapy could be very helpful: teaching, reading, "homework assignments," and the use of logic for problem solving.[78] In so doing, the Black Pastor can help Black Christians to examine and evaluate those "philosophies of life" counter to the liberation of Black people.

For example, an obvious area where counseling that teaches could be very strategic in the Black Church is in family life education with young adults. The writer, in his own church, has found this to be the most difficult group to reach, and yet the group with probably the highest potential for effective service. Henry H. Mitchell said:

> It is probable that the Black church has done less effective work with the young adult and the young marrieds than with any other age groups. To be sure they are busy with big bills and small babies, but their spiritual needs are at their peak. No effort should be spared to reach these hard-to-reach groups.[79]

Counseling that teaches can help young Black adults to help effect liberation. It must teach them how they can be victimized like their forefathers and mothers. It must also teach them how to pick up the mantle of liberation that their parents started. The Black Pastor can help them analyze the situation. George B. Thomas was keenly aware of the Black Church's mandate to teach young Black adults. He said:

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[76] Ibid. [77] Ibid., p. 191. [78] Corey, p. 75.

[79] Henry H. Mitchell, How Churches Teach (a Leadership Training Manual written for the Western Baptist State Convention, Inc., n.d.), p. 26.

> Sensitive and aware young black people, especially those most directly victimized, need to be able to make the most *correct analysis of the predicament* of the black situation, if they are to understand the nature of the struggle in which they function.[80]

Thomas elaborated: "The real needs of Black youth are those which are seen in the light of a clear, rational analysis of the nature of the oppression-struggle syndrome."[81] More specifically, the Black Pastor must help young Black adults to do something to actually change the situation. They must be taught that their mothers and fathers fought for their liberation and so must they. The Black Pastor shares the goal of Rational-Emotive Therapy in its attempt to eliminate a "self-defeating outlook" on life.[82] Young Black adults cannot afford less than a straightforward attitude; they must tackle any impediments to their growth.

The task is difficult. Nevertheless, the Black Pastor must relish the opportunity to counsel Black Christians through teaching. The goal of counseling that teaches with young Black adults is to help them to scrutinize things in their proper light. The Black Pastor must seize every opportunity to enrich their tender minds, especially those who are receptive and have identified with Black liberation. The Black Pastor can help them to learn who they are and where they belong in this continuous effort.

Healing, Counseling, and Black Christians

In counseling Black Christians and families the Black Pastor has the opportunity to demonstrate the Liberating Word in healing the wounds of the people. In this capacity the Black Pastor functions as a human instrument through whom a God of the oppressed works His healing power for suffering people. The idea of a "suffering people" is appropriate for the Black Pastor. It is evident of the social history of the Black Church and the psychosocial pilgrimage of Black people in America. Since counseling is a channel for God's healing power, the Black Pastor's understanding of the suffering of Black people is essential.

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[80] George B. Thomas, Young Black Adults, p. 45. (Italics mine.)

[81] Ibid.

[82] Corey, p. 192.

The Black Pastor's ability not only to "understand" but "identify" with the suffering of Black Christians is essential. At every level, whether it is with the poor, lower class, middle, or upper, the Black Pastor is counseling with the "disinherited." This speaks to the uniqueness of Black suffering in America. The Black Pastor's healing ministry must be in keeping with Jesus of Nazareth, who identified with the disinherited of his day. Howard Thurman, the great Black mystic, pointed out that Jesus' deepest concern was for the survival of the oppressed.[83] This concern developed as a result of the contemporary situation which he interpreted as being diametrically opposed to the welfare of his people. The Jews were living in a society where they were oppressed and not wanted.

The Black Pastor then is cognizant that when counseling healing is vital for a people who suffer in addition to their normal problems and ills by living in a land where they are oppressed and not wanted. In counseling Black people not only is the Black Pastor dealing with "the disinherited" but also with a "pilgrim people." They are a people whose journey has been that of "poor pilgrims of sorrow." Olin P. Moyd, a Black Pastor in the Mount Leban Baptist Church in Baltimore, Maryland, said: "Black people are indeed a pilgrim people who are inflicted with human-caused sorrow."[84]

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[83] Howard Thurman, Jesus and the Disinherited (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949), p. 11 f.

[84] Olin P. Moyd, Redemption in Black Theology (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1979), p. 91.

Therefore, the Black Pastor's role as a healing agent is vital in counseling. The task is to help those counseled to understand their predicament. This demands insight into the situation of Black suffering, and where healing is necessary. The Black Pastor must cooperate with the medical community and the emerging groups of Black psychologists, psychiatrists, and counselors around the country who have formed associations. The Black Pastor shares the predicament of Black Christians and works with agencies that challenge the demonic structures which have historically crippled Black people from without and within.

Paul Tillich, in a sermon entitled "Heal the Sick, Cast Out the Demons," said that "God's healing agents need healing, because their predicament is that of the people they are serving. Also, in order to recognize the demons in others depends on recognizing the demons in ourselves."[85] The Black Pastor must help his people to see the forces inside themselves as well as outside. The Black Pastor must counsel people, moving from the internal to the external. Counseling should begin with what is going on inside the person first, before it moves to help deal with the wider circumstances of the situation. If healing occurs as a result, it is because the person has done just this. The counselor has done likewise.

For Tillich, the "principle of mutuality" is central for dealing with suffering. To be sure, counselor and counselee are co-sufferers. Tillich raises the question,

> Should you ask me--can we heal without being healed ourselves?--I would answer--you can! For neither the disciples nor you could ever say--we are healed, so let us heal others. He who would believe this of himself is least fit to heal others; for he would be separating himself from them. Show them whom you counsel that their predicament is also your predicament.[86]

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[85] Paul Tillich, The Eternal Now (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), p. 64.

[86] Ibid. Cf. "It is by faith alone that any Christian Minister can preach or teach or counsel." See Daniel Day Williams, The Minister and the Cure of Souls (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1961), p. 39.

The "principle of mutuality" should extend beyond the counselor and person in dealing with Black suffering. The Black Pastor recognizes that through the ministry of healing, pastor and people can both be healed in their common predicament, and that they have the unique opportunity of being instrumental in the healing of the nation. The Black Pastor and people must realize that their healing is directly related to the nation which caused their wounds. It is questionable whether or not Tillich had Black Christians in mind when he was thinking along these lines, but what he says is applicable to the Black Christian context.

> In the ancient world, great political leaders were called saviours. They liberated nations and groups within them from misery, enslavement, and war. This is another kind of healing, reminiscent of the words of the last book of the Bible, which says in poetic language that "the leaves of the tree of life are for the healing of the nations." How can nations be healed? One may say: They can be liberated from external conquerors or internal oppressors. But can they be healed? Can they be saved? Nations are saved if there is a small minority, a group of people, who represent what the nation is called to be. They may be defeated, but their spirit will be a power of resistance against the evil spirits who are detrimental to the nation. The question of saving power in the nation is the question of whether there is a minority, even a small one, which is willing to resist the anxiety produced by propaganda, the conformity enforced by threat, the hatred stimulated by ignorance.[87]

The Black Pastor must lead his people toward representing "what the nation is called to be." Here is the secret for healing the wounds of Black People and the nation which was wounded as a result. No other group in America could likely be the "small minority" Tillich is talking about. No group has suffered like Black people in this country. Professor James H. Cone wrote: "The meaning of black suffering remains a part of the mystery of God's will."[88] This is true to the extent that

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[87] Ibid., p. 121 f.

[88] James H. Cone, God of the Oppressed (New York: The Seabury Press, 1975), p. 192.

Black people have suffered against their wills, and it is true to the extent that Black people still suffer against their wills.

The Black Pastor, however, must remind the people that those who have suffered much have the greatest healing power. That healing power comes from a God who brought Black people "through many dangers, toils and snares." In counseling, this is important for helping people to deal with the negative dimensions of human experience and to know despite suffering God is still sovereign and will ultimately triumph.

The Black Pastor must point Black Christians toward the redemptive quality of suffering. Suffering is the direct result of estrangement, men being cut off from God and each other. The Black Pastor must help the people to understand that human brokenness is where men seek to take the place of the Almighty at the disadvantage of others, which contributes to their eventual downfall. Even though Black people in America were taken advantage of, the Black Pastor must counsel the people not to let what was done be repeated upon other groups and especially upon each other.

Counseling will reveal the wounds inflicted upon Black people. Those wounds will not be healed by sulking about what the whites have done to Blacks. The Black Pastor must let those counseled know that "licking our wounds" will not solve the problem. Those wounds are healed when Black people continue to deal with suffering in a realistic and creative way. The Black Pastor can point Black people, as an example, to the dual survival of the Black family and the Black Church. They were often hospitals where members could be treated and made whole again. The wounded person knew if he or she was hurt, somewhere in this oppressive society, they could find solace in church or at home--more often than not one and the same.

Counseling provides the Black Pastor with an opportunity to reclaim the priestly role in shepherding Black Christians. This is a part of the Pastor's calling in identifying with the frailties and temptations which beset the Pastor and the people.

Hebrews 2: 17-18

> Therefore he had to be made like his brethren in every respect, so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make expiation for the sins of the people.
> For because he himself has suffered and been tempted, he is able to help those who are tempted.

Hebrews 5: 2

> He can deal gently with the ignorant and wayward, since he himself is beset with weakness.

Hebrews 5: 4-6

> And one does not take the honor upon himself, but he is called by God, just as Aaron was.
> So also Christ did not exalt himself to be made a high priest, but was appointed by him who said to him, "Thou art my Son, today I have begotten thee"; as he also says in another place, "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek."

SUMMARY

Pastoral counseling is the Black Pastor's opportunity to fulfill the priestly role in the Black Church.

Pastoral counseling with Black Christians requires what few Black Pastors are trained to do, but is built into pastoral work and is necessary for liberation.

An approach to counseling in the Black Church begins with the Black condition, a situation of oppression and a need for liberation. Blackness solidifies the common predicament and cultural bond of the Black Pastor and Black Christians in a counseling relationship. There is an obvious need for formal counseling in the Black Church. The Black Pastor must be trained in formal counseling, and use it as a means of completing the liberation process.

Counseling with Black families requires the Black Pastor to be the spiritual head of Black families and the extended Black family, the Black Church for liberation.

As a counselor, the Black Pastor is the spiritual head (father/ mother figure) in shepherding Black families and the church. The pastor focuses on individual family members, but in relationship to the larger family kinship network. The goal is to try and heal the damage and bring wholeness to Black family life and church life. This is done through the principles of shared experience, corporate and communal values.

Shepherding Black Christians requires that the Black Pastor counsel for liberation with those who seek counsel upon encountering the Liberating Word of God through the ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing.

Pastoral counseling through preaching should focus more on domestic and interpersonal needs. Pastoral counseling through teaching is corrective, instructive, and informative. Pastoral counseling through healing happens when pastor and people identify with each other's oppression and common need for liberation.

On the whole, pastoral counseling in the Black Church is liberation from the psychic and traumatic damage of centuries of white oppression, as well as focusing on those problems peculiar to the internal group life of Black Christians and their interpersonal relationship. The goals of pastoral counseling is to try to eliminate the slavemaster syndrome, and achieve a healthy Black self-esteem by means of the ethics of helping, promoting, and supporting each other as a family and a church.

The Black Pastor should see that pastoral counseling in the Black Church is implicit in preaching, teaching, and healing. The Black Pastor becomes a priest for those who need a mediator to stand between them and help them to get in touch with a God of the oppressed, to know and understand His involvement in their domestic and family turmoil, psychic and social pathology, individual and group conflicts, not to mention Pastor and member conflicts.

Pastor and members must counsel each other. There is a need for the wisdom, experience, and skills of every member. Pastor and people are intimately a part of each other's brokenness, and so must they be intimately a part of each other's wholeness. The illness of one means the illness of all. The ignorance of one means the ignorance of all. The estrangement of one means the estrangement of all. The oppression of one means the oppression of all. Thus the liberation of one means the liberation of all.

Pastoral counseling in the Black Church ultimately is turning to the Liberating Word of God through the liberating ministry of Christ. A God of the oppressed through Christ is the High Priest who mediates, unites, reassures, comforts, and liberates. This is the direct result of the Father and Son identifying with the suffering of oppressed Black Christians.

Chapter 7

THE SHEPHERDING BLACK PASTOR AND SOCIETAL SYSTEMS

Confronting societal systems which oppress Black Christians provides the Black Pastor with an opportunity to fulfill the prophetic role. Given the fact that societal systems in America were structured via the enslavement and continued oppression of Black people, the Black Pastor should boldly speak out against them. The Black Pastor must demand that they be changed and that the people be liberated from their restrictions. In so doing, the Pastor must inform those who have erected these systems that the Word says they stand under the eternal judgment of a God of the oppressed. Also, the Black Pastor must inform the oppressors that God's judgment is not only Eternal but Final.

THE BLACK CHURCH AND SOCIETAL SYSTEMS

The Black Church Confronts the System

Dr. William A. Jones, Jr., a Black Pastor in the Bethany Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York, and President of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, raises and answers the question regarding oppressive systems in American society for Black people. He said: "What instrumentality is available to Blacks for confronting The System and dealing with Demonic structures? There is but one, that unique religio-social institution called the Black Church."[1]

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[1] Harold A. Carter, Wyatt T. Walker, and William A. Jones, Jr., The Black Church Looks at the Bicentennial (Elgin, Il.: The Progressive National Baptist Publishing House, 1976), p. 121. Cf. Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, To Empower People (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977), p. 30. The Black Church should take note of the powerful role it has in mediating structures in public policy. Two prominent sociologists feel that the Church could take advantage of its unique position to determine values,

Jones was simply reflecting on what has been and is still obvious for the Black struggle. The Black Church was and is still all that Black people can claim as uniquely their own in American society. It is still the only base of operation and power block from which Blacks can operate to confront societal systems. The Black Pastor must be mindful of the fact that a powerful instrumentality is in the hands of the Black Church! To use the Black Church creatively and productively for the liberation of Black people means that the Pastor seek to understand and interpret how societal systems oppress them.

Jones succinctly described the nature of the system which is operative in American society. He said:

> "The System" refers implicitly to the American Trinity of Capitalism, Racism, and Militarism. Erected on the damnable foundation of slave labor, it pyramided after Emancipation on cheap labor, and now thrives on social stratification which is racism made manifest. Racism serves to preserve and perpetuate "The System." Militarism, the third ingredient of the formula, has almost become a political necessity. It is not mere happenstance that the nation has known no real peace for more than three decades. Militarism saps the mental and physical energies of the nation's youth, those most capable of creatively confronting the evils of Racism and Capitalism.[2]

Jones elaborated:

> A close scrutiny of the system reveals that Americans are controlled and manipulated by a sinful minority that is neither young, colored, nor poor. They own the nation's wealth, rape the world's resources, make the political decisions, plan the nation's military ventures, hurt our humanity and deface our divinity.[3]

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without which values are at the mercy of those who operate the structures of public policy. "In the absence of the church and other mediating structures that articulate these values, the result is not that the society is left without operative values. The result is that the state has an unchallenged monopoly on the generation and the maintenance of values. Needless to say, we would find this a very unhappy condition indeed."

[2] Ibid., p. 83.

[3] Ibid., p. 89.

The contemporary Black Pastor must not only "understand" and "interpret" what the system is all about, but must also remind the Black Church of its historic and moral obligation to take direct action against oppressive systems. The Black Church must be true to the legacy it has inherited from the Black mothers and fathers in slavery. That legacy is one of withstanding and fighting against a society structured to keep Blacks in their place, denying them their human and civic rights.

The system erected against Black people is designed to achieve several dehumanizing goals! One goal is to keep Black people poor, and therefore forever dependent on their oppressors. A second goal is to keep Black people ignorant, and therefore ignored by their oppressors. A third goal is to keep Black people harnessed, and therefore powerless with their oppressors.

The Black Church is the most experienced institution for confronting the system. It has fought the system on unequal grounds, but with an unremovable determination, faith in the ultimate justice of a God of the oppressed, and an amazing hope in America. This is the meaning of the Invisible Institution and the Underground Railroad during slavery. The slave system was fought by means of "protest" and "resistance."[4] The Black Church must take the stand that one need not have guns and knives to attack an evil system. Our mothers and fathers fought without any lethal weapons. Where Black people are today is directly traceable to their heroic courage and fortitude against an evil system.

In order to carry on the fight which began with the Black mothers and fathers in slavery, the Black Church must channel its energies against three systems which have sustained the oppression of Black people.

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[4] See George P. Rawick, The American Slave (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), p. 37 f; John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 75 f; and Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), p. 94 f.

First is the educational system. The Black Church must insist that parents be involved in the education of their children and that members of the Board of Christian Education be active in the local public school system. A vocational file should be developed by the Board. Meetings opened to the public must be attended, and the concerns of Black parents articulated. Personal contact with educational officials should be made. Questions should be raised regarding the relevance and appropriateness of education Black children and youth are receiving. An evaluation of the merits of Black and White institutions should be made. Our mothers and fathers felt ~~that~~ education and preparation were essential for the race.[5]

Second is the economic system. The Black Church must insist that Black people have a right to economic mobility. It must encourage those blacks who have achieved this not to forget those who have not. The Black Pastors must encourage them to put something back in the Black community. The Black Church is the most viable institution through which this can be done. It should warn Blacks who leave the Black community for the white community, who join the Republican Party once they have economically arrived. It should challenge local Black business men to unite and pool their resources. Its Department of Church and Social Concerns needs to help members find employment. Special attention should be given to helping Black youth and members find employment, particularly during the summer. The social history of the Black Church shows that it has been a springboard for economic improvement of the race.[6]

Third is the political system. The Black Church must insist that Black Christians be politically informed, conscious, and responsible. Reverend William James, a highly respected and widely known

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[5] See Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1972), p. 180 f., and E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), p. 38 f.

[6] Woodson, p. 34.

Methodist pastor and community leader in New York City's Harlem district said: "The problem with Black people and politics is that 'we are not politically astute!' 'We don't understand politics.'" The Department of Church and Social Concerns must help the church to realize that while Black folk are "preaching," "singing," and "having a good time" in church their lives are being controlled in the city, state, and federal seats of government. The Black Church must also continue to be a springboard, as it has been through its social history, for Black political candidates.[7]

The Black Church, therefore, must continue to be more than just a religious center. It must continue to be a school, employment agency, and political base. The keys to liberation in American society for Black people are academic/professional credentials, financial independence of white folk, and a concern from a political system that normally deals with Blacks when it is expedient and not for their welfare.

Latta R. Thomas wrote about the "strategic position" the Black Church had historically and still has as the hub and bulwark of the Black community. This is true for the educational, economic, and political survival of the race. Educational leaders, business men and women, and politicians realize how crucial the Black Church is and can be in helping them to deal with the system, especially in terms of numerical and financial support.

Former and current Black mayors, for example, like Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Kenneth Gibson of Newark, Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, and Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles were launched by and owe much of their success to the Black Church. Behind Stokes was the Rev. E. T. Caviness and the powerful Greater Abyssinian Baptist Church. Behind Gibson was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which rallied the Black Church and community to his support. Behind Jackson was the indomitable Martin Luther King, Sr., and the Morehouse College contingency. Behind Bradley was Bishop H. H. Brookins and the influential First A.M.E.

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[7] Ibid., p. 198.

Church.

Thomas said:

> Even those Blacks who have, for whatever reasons good or bad, slackened their childhood embrace of the Black institutional church still concede its advantages of having Black leadership, Black assembly, a good degree of community cohesion, and *a better-than-average communications system* for the community. Black politicians will go to it to make appeals and solicit its support. Black community leaders and Black educators regard it as worthy of receiving important announcements. Often initial support for worthy Black community projects is generated in the Black congregations.[8]

The Black Church as a System

The Black Church functions as a multipurpose system. This has been by necessity, and remains today. In a way, it has been and is a counter-system. The Black Church sought to counter the oppressive slave system, the Jim Crow system, and the segregation system--all components of the larger system of racism. In the process the Black Church developed its own internal systems:

1. The Black Church is a *religious system*. It is a place where Blacks come together for fellowship, worship, and find meaning for their faith.
2. The Black Church is a *cultural system*. It is a place where customs, norms, values, mores, and a style of life are shaped.
3. The Black Church is a *social system*. It is a place of group cohesion, solidarity, and identity for a people living in a society built on a closed system.
4. The Black Church is a *political system*. It is a place that has provided a platform for leadership, representation, and communication for Blacks.
5. The Black Church is an *educational system*. It is a place which became an institution of learning during the week and gave birth to the Black college movement.
6. The Black Church is a *financial system*. It is a place where

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[8] Latta R. Thomas, Biblical Faith and the Black American (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1976), p. 134 f. (Italics mine.)

funds can be raised and received and used for projects vital to the interests of Blacks.

7. The Black Church is a *personality system*. It is a place where the great leaders have been nurtured and became the voide of the race.
8. The Black Church is a *behavioral system*. It is a place where Blacks learn how to relate to each other socially, inter personally, and morally.

The Black Church, as a system, is a society within itself. Talcott Parsons, renowned sociologist, gave a definition of society applicable to what the Black Church has achieved with its own internal social systems. He said: "We define society as the type of social system characterized by the highest level of self-sufficiency relative to its environments, including other social systems."[9] The Black Church has achieved a level of self-sufficiency relative to its environment's systems of oppression.

Ironically, the Black Church has achieved this as an Open System as opposed to a Closed System. The Black Church has always reached out and received others outside the race into its fold. It has had interchange with its environment. The Black Church is what Parsons called an "action system." "An action system's primary integrative problem is the coordination of its constituent units, in the first instance human individuals. . . ."[10] To employ a term Parsons used the Black Church has achieved the "interpenetration" necessary for internalizing its objectives for becoming an institution.

The Black Church is far from being a perfect system. A cursory view of many Black Churches reveals how poorly structured they are and their ineptitude as a healthy system for its constituency. What Pattison said is pronounced in many Black churches:

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[9] Talcott Parsons, The System of Modern Societies (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 8.

[10] Ibid., p. 5.

> The average church exhibits few of the attributes of a well-developed and mature living system. This is because, for most congregations, church structure is at some lesser stage of system development, held together by a pastor who feels overwhelmed by the task of keeping things together and keeping them running.[11]

The ineffectiveness of many Black Churches today is due to a poor system insofar as how the structure, organization, administration, and component parts function together. This is certainly true where pastors work without benefit of staff, and the people are poorly trained. This is the case with most traditional Black Churches.

An examination of the Black Church also reveals its strengths and weaknesses as a system. Two Baptist Pastors, collaborating in a study of church administration, showed the following:

> *Some Strengths of the Black Church*
>
> The Black Church:
>
> 1. Serves as a station of personal affirmation which attracts large numbers of persons;
> 2. Provides a rallying point for development of ideas on religion, politics, and all issues effecting immediate welfare;
> 3. Provides, because of its often limited personal and financial resources, a springboard for creativity through which those limited resources can be overcome;
> 4. Tends to impact greatly on the total community rather than just on its members;
> 5. Reposits the history, customs, traditions, and faith of Black People;
> 6. Provides an arena for ongoing leadership development.
>
> *Some Weaknesses of the Black Church*
>
> 1. Often tends toward an anti-intellectualism which gives low priority to financial support of education;
> 2. Experiences daily confrontation with needs incommensurate with resources available;

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[11] E. Mansell Pattison, Pastor and Parish--A Systems Approach (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), p. 20.

3. Lacks, in too many instances a trained and/or committed leadership;
4. Tends to nurture a sense of insecurity that disallows intra- and interdenominational cooperation;
5. Tends to rely on an oral rather than a written record of organization and administration.[12]

Harlem pastor Wyatt T. Walker also points out some strengths and weaknesses of the Black Church as a system. He said:

> *Strengths of the Contemporary Black Church*
>
> The *mystical faith* of the Black Church. It is any wonder that black people believe in God at all.
>
> Its *"wholistic" view of religion and life*. Religious faith permeates the daily experience of Black People.
>
> The contemporary Black Church is blessed with *charismatic leadership*. It has dynamic personalities who have helped the race to move forward.
>
> The *independence* of the contemporary Black Church must not be overlooked.
>
> One of the most important strengths of the contemporary Black Church is that it has the *troops*.
>
> *Weaknesses of the Contemporary Black Church*
>
> Chief among the weaknesses of the contemporary Black Church is its lack of *catholicity*.
>
> A second weakness of the contemporary Black Church is a corollary to the first mentioned--*variety of government*.
>
> Another weakness of the contemporary Black Church is *low visibility*.
>
> The last weakness to be considered here is the *absence of retooling*.[13]

Black sociologist Kenneth B. Clark is amazed at the latent and potential power of the Black Church in the ghetto. Its strength and weakness lie in the fact that it is too often content to play a cathartic role and to offer vicarious satisfaction for its members at the interpersonal level. Candidly, he said:

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[12] Floyd Massey, Jr., and Samuel Berry McKinney, Church Administration in the Black Perspective (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1976), p. 49.

[13] Carter, Walker, and Jones, p. 66 f.

> This is the source of both the power and the weakness of the Negro church in the ghetto. The potential power of the Negro church lies in the fact that it does attract large numbers of the masses of Negroes. The weaknesses of the Negro church, however, cannot be ignored: They are inherent in the general pathology of the ghetto of which the Negro church is a part. Among its more flagrant weaknesses is the fact that its potential strengths can all too easily be dissipated by preoccupation with trivia, with competitiveness, suspiciousness, and a desperate struggle for the empty status, bombast, and show of the ghetto world.[14]

Clark further observed that the Black Church as system is largely free of white financial control, which is not true for other areas of life for Blacks. He added:

> The Negro was required to finance and build his own churches. He hired and paid his ministers without any major help from the white community. In all other aspects of life--in all economic, educational, and other institutional contacts--even under a pervasive and rigged biracial and segregated system, the Negro was still dependent upon white financial control.[15]

The continued ability of the Black Church to effect the liberation of Black people depends on its willingness to retain and build on its strengths, and, at the same time, to overhaul its obvious weaknesses. Black Churches today will have to exhibit more organizational capability than they have in the past. This means a healthy church system. Yet the Black Church must avoid becoming too bureaucratic and/or compartmentalized. There is the secular danger of corporate isolation. It must remember that its purpose is not a self-serving one for the sake of the institution alone, but one of serving the needs of the people. Structure for the sake of structure is meaningless, but where it is designed to bring people together in a kinship system, which is the Black Church's reason for being, then it becomes "a living system" for the health of the people.

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[14] Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), p. 175.

[15] Ibid., p. 176.

Still organizational capability is important for today's Black Church. Evidence of this is the tremendous amount of time, energy, and resources wasted in the traditional Black Churches. Few Black Churches are models of efficiency and are knowledgeable about gettings done fast and effectively. At this point, the Black Church could learn much and benefit from its white counterpart. This reveals that most of its weaknesses are organizational. This problem originates from the national Black Church Conventions, Connections, and local Conferences, which function primarily as preaching, social, and fellowship systems. These national bodies have literally thousands of churches and a constituency in the millions. Their organizational inadequacy is reflected by their shameful inability to establish economic and political power for themselves and complete the liberation process of Black Christians and the Race.

The Black Church and Systemic Change

Sterling D. Plumpp, a militant Black psychologist, wrote: "The Black Church has the funds, the property, and the leaders, if they stop begging Congress, Governors, and the President long enough to realize the vast amount of power they would have if they would only organize around the educational needs of the budding Black nation."[16] What Plumpp was saying may be the answer for the Black Church, and is a critical commentary on the contemporary Black Church.

The Black Church, while it recognizes the problem in some instances, does not emphasize "the educational needs of the budding Black nation" as a priority. The Black Church system is responsible for not making this a priority, focusing mainly on providing "good preaching" and "good singing." Unfortunately, many Black Christians limit their evaluation of a church on its ability to provide good singing and good preaching. However, this is not the answer to a stronger church system, which can challenge and change oppressive systems from an organizational standpoint. Black people will have to be educated for this task, and most contemporary Black Churches are behind.

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[16] Sterling D. Plumpp, Black Rituals (Chicago, Ill.: Third World Press, 1973), p. 66.

A prime reason why the contemporary Black Church is remiss in educating its people on how to change oppressive systems is because the church usually is built around the personality of a preacher noted more for skills as a preacher than a Pastor. Black culture should help to advance Blacks from the oppressive system in which they all too often feel themselves locked. That many Black Churches are locked into their culture is evidenced by the large attendance in many churches, particularly those built on commercial Gospel music. The question is not one of criticizing the culture, but how culture can be used to change the systems. The contemporary Black Church must come to grips with the reality of the society in which it ministers. It is a society marked by the rapidity of social change and social systems which oppress Black people. In order to understand this oppression it is necessary to grasp its relationship to the Social System. Sociologist Wilbert E. Moore pointed out the relationship in conjunction with the strain or tension brought on by change. He stated: "The first strain or tension that is predictive of change, is between the 'part' and the 'whole,' the somewhat specialized system of action and its consequences for the society in which it is located."[17] The contemporary Black Church must recognize that it is "part" of the "whole." It cannot function as an independent component apart from the society in which it is a part. It must make its presence felt!

For this to become a reality, and for the contemporary Black

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[17] Wilbert E. Moore, Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), p. 74.

Church to become the kind of organizational entity which can change oppressive systems, it must recognize that to do less is not to fulfill its moral obligation in completing the liberation process. This is true in the area of group relations, particularly where one group rules, and they both support, believe in, and depend on the same system. Systemic change brings groups face to face with the ethical issue of power. In America, whites have structured a system that is designed to maintain the status quo of the ruling group.

Paul Tillich shed some light on the ethics of power. "The ruling group shares the tensions of power, especially the tension between power by acknowledgement and power by enforcement. Both are always present, and no power structure can stand if one of them is lacking."[78] What Tillich further said certainly applies to whites in relation to Blacks and the system which has evolved between the two groups. "The ruling group is safe as long as this kind of acknowledgement is subconscious or half-conscious--metaphorically speaking, silent. Danger for the system appears if the acknowledgement becomes conscious and doubt must be suppressed."[19] To abort the dominance of the ruling group, the contemporary Black Church must continue to challenge Black Christians to become knowledgeable about the American legislative system. This is where decisions and changes are made about the structures of society. Here the partisan politics of the ruling group can be confronted.

Jesse Jai McNiel, a Black Pastor in the large Tabernacle Baptist Church in Detroit, Michigan, for many years, before moving to Metropolitan Baptist Church in Pasadena, California, understood this problem in the context of the church's role in a society marked by an expanding metropolis around every major city in America. He understood the challenge it presented to the church in reaching men in a highly secular,

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[18] Paul Tillich, Love, Power, and Justice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 94.

[19] Ibid., p. 95.

urbanized society. McNiel, who trained several generations of Black Pastors while Dean of Chapel at Bishop College in Dallas, Texas, during the forties and early fifties, came to realize after years in the pastorate that the church must understand the legislative system. He wrote: "Legislation as an instrument of change--and control--is being increasingly used to achieve narrowly partisan as well as broad social ends to perpetuate the status quo and to effect radical changes in the social structure."[20] The Black Church's challenge to its people to become knowledgeable about the legislative system, and their participation through the system of representation, can continue to bring about the "radical changes in the social structure."

Roger Lincoln Shinn, professor of Christian Social Ethics at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, said: "The social changes of current history have put severe strains on the representative system of the United States."[21] Shinn was referring to a period when the Black Church was a prominent instrument in the Civil Rights movement of the early sixties. As an example, he cited the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

> A series of court decisions and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have gone far to reduce injustice. In some places a Negro still risks physical danger if he tries to register and vote. Even more often he risks economic reprisals. Voting registrars use many tricks to prevent Negro registration. But the power of law and of trouble are not over, but the way to a solution is clear.[22]

The role played by the Black Church in influencing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 needs to be repeated many times over, whenever and wherever a system is used to oppress Black people. A recent example is the Bakke case, which could sets Blacks back in the educational system.

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[20] Jesse Jai McNeil, Mission in Metropolis (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965), p. 94.

[21] Roger L. Shinn, Tangled World (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 109.

[22] Ibid., p. 109.

In short, the Black Church must become increasingly aware of what Shinn called the "human importance of structures." They affect the moral relationship between people, and nowhere is this truer than between Blacks and whites. Shinn said: "Increasingly we must look at the moral meaning of institutional structures and processes."[23] The American system of "institutional structures and processes" lacks just this where Blacks are concerned--"moral meaning." The Black Church should continue to confront the system on this level.

THE BLACK PASTOR AND SOCIETAL SYSTEMS

The Black Pastor and Fighting the System

The Black Church is a base of operation for confronting the system, and the Black Pastor leads the fight. This leadership is critical at this point, and has been since the slave preacher. It is the slave preacher's mantle that the comtemporary Black Pastor has inherited. H. Beecher Hicks called the slave preacher "an agent of protest." "No other single force played as significant a role in the social and spiritual development and ultimate destruction of the slave community as did the Black preacher."[24] As an agent of protest, the contemporary Black Pastor must play a significant "role in the social and spiritual development and ultimate destruction" of those oppressive systems which still keep Blacks enslaved.

This explains the radical element in the Black Pastor's fight against oppressive systems, which is also part of the mantle inherited from the slave preacher. The initial meetings which eventually evolved into the institutional Black Church were often used for slave uprisings, to fight the system itself. Wilmore said: "Slave preachers used the church meeting as a place where the Blacks could most easily be persuaded to join in conspiracy against the system."[25] This is a tactic which the contemporary Black Pastor must continue to use, whenever the situation merits it.

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[23] Ibid., p. 58.

[24] H. Beecher Hicks, Jr., Images of the Black Preacher (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1977), p. 36.

The American political system is an example. The Black Church emerged as a result of the freedom movement led by preacher-politicians who tried to help Black Christians overcome the hypocritical and restraining presence of white religiosity.[26] Often the fight against the system was so demanding that a man had to leave his pastoral charge and devote full-time duty to it.[27] This is true even today. The late Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young are examples. Those who have been successful in fighting the system have done so by building a strong local base for electoral politics. Charles V. Hamilton pointed out why this is the case.

> Generally, Black preachers have been politically active at the local community levels, either as office holders, leaders of pressure groups, influential members of political parties or simply as leaders of their individual churches. In some cases, it has been rather easy for them to accept political roles if they have wanted them. Because ministers are leaders of organized bodies, other politicians see them as assets in reaching people. In addition, they know that one way to serve their parishioners is to be able to deliver goods and services obtained from the political system.[28]

Hamilton added: "The general pattern has been to enter the ministry, build up a sizable church and personal following and then combine parish work with political work."[29] In this connection, Shaw suggested that the Black Pastor should be a latter day Moses. In fighting the system, he must liberate Blacks from the political structures that oppress them. In relation to Moses,

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[25] Gayraud S. Wilmore, Black Religion and Black Radicalism (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1973), p. 79.

[26] Ibid., p. 103 f.

[27] Woodson, p. 198.

[28] Charles B. Hamilton, The Black Preacher in America (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1972), p. 110.

[29] Ibid., p. 111.

> He grew up in palatial surroundings. He knew the best of Egyptian culture, the inner circuits of Egyptian officialdom. Leadership is at its best when it can move with familiarity in the quarters of the oppressor. Learn his ***system,*** understand his mentality, but do not adopt his values.[30]

The contemporary Black Pastor's fight against the system is magnified by what Black historian Lerone Bennett, Jr., called "the politics of the outsider." He said:

> Black people are the outsiders, the disinherited, of the American political system. As human beings, they live outside white America in numerous Black colonies. And as voters and political persons, they inhabit the margins on the periphery of the system. Even the persons who represent these outsiders in the councils of the insider occupy a marginal position--as the Adam Powell case indicates.[31]

Bennett added:

> From time to time, the inhabitants of these Black colonies have played crucial roles as pawns of persons inside the system. More significantly, they have crucially affected the system by their presence on the periphery. In other words, they have acted on the system from a distance. Indeed, one might say that the political history of America is a series of approaches and withdrawals from the pressing reality of the Black outsiders on the margin.[32]

Bennett concluded that "the role of the Black men outside American politics is the dual role of a political pawn for insiders and a protagonist from the outside of the whole political system."[33]

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[30] William J. Shaw, "The Black Preacher and Black Biblical Interpretation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Colgate Rochester Divinity School, 1975). (Iralics mine.)

[31] Lerone Bennett, Jr., The Challenge of Blackness (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), p. 68.

[32] Ibid., p. 68 f.

[33] Ibid., p. 69.

Bennett pointed to the correlation between the American political system and economic and social problems. "The most urgent need of this hour is political education. Black people must be made aware of their political and economic interests and the general nature of the opposition."[34] In relation to the electoral practices he pointed to the problem of the urban Black voter's attitude about the American political system.

> The so-called alienation of the urban Black voter is based, I suspect, on a very sophisticated analysis of the American political system. Black people, by and large, don't believe politics can bring about a real--that is to say, effective--change in their basic situation. If the Black masses are to rise to the requirements of this hour, they must be shown that politics is their affair and in their fundamental interests.[35]

There are several ways in which Black Christians can be "shown that politics is their affair and in their fundamental interests."

First, much will depend on the _political consciousness of the Black Pastor_. This means that the Black Pastor must be informed, clear, and decisive in each evaluation of political issues for Black people. The Black Pastor should enlist the allegiance of politically conscious members of the church. The Department of Church and Community Concerns should make this a major thrust in the life of the church. The pastor can set up open forums to the church and the public, where issues can be discussed and analyzed for their relative value.

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[34] Ibid., p. 80.

[35] Ibid., p. 81. Cf. Charles S. Bullock, III, and Harrell R. Rodgers, Jr., _Racial Equality in America_ (California: Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc., 1975). See p. 8: "Black estrangement from the political system is, of course, a matter of consequence for the whole nation." See p. 146: "Indications are that distrust of the political system and political figures is generally widespread in the black community."

Second, the Black Pastor must show Black Christians the relationship between religion and politics. They must be made to understand that "the separation of church and state" is not to be taken literally. God's people suffer from the political system which is unjust, and they have a moral obligation to fight it. Religion calls for a moral order, and the political system is the key to achieving it. Religion can function to keep the political system morally in check. Religion can remind the political system of its moral obligation to the people. For Black people, this means being included and not ostracized.

Third, the Black Pastor can lead church people in evaluating prospective political candidates. When these candidates are Black, the pastor can remind them of their moral obligation to the Black community and the moral danger of being bought off by the system. The pastor can throw the numerical and financial support of the church behind them, as an independent base of operation. Where it is plausible, the Black Pastor should encourage the support of the church behind those Black candidates who have an open commitment to improving the lot of Blacks as well as the larger community. It has been wisely suggested that a pastor should know the ten most influential people in the community. Certainly this would include many political figures.

On the whole, the Black Pastor must help Black Christians not to fall into the trap of partisan politics, but should help them to understand the real needs of the Black community and what would benefit the majority. Jessie Jackson of Operation Push in Chicago made a public statement regarding which party Blacks should support. Jackson said: "Blacks have a right to political options." The Black Pastor's concern is not necessarily one of political alliances but one of fighting the system for the people.

Lerone Bennett, Jr., offered a mature solution to the dilemma of political alliances for Blacis. He wrote:

> I believe we must make a radical reevaluation of all our traditional political alliances in the light of the needs and the interests of the overwhelming majority of Black people. Black

> representatives must dare now to redefine themselves in terms of the interest of their people. They must ask themselves *who they are and who they really represent*. And if their ultimate allegiance is to the Black community, and not to the Democratic party or the Republican party or labor or some white political boss, they must dare to make that allegiance real by creating indepenpendent power bases in the Black community. At the same time, we must assume responsibility for financing the campaigns of Black candidates.[36]

The Black Pastor as a Catalyst for Systemic Change

The contemporary Black Pastor must function as a catalyst for systemic change. This calls for prophetic consciousness, which is crucial for pastoral work. The Black Pastor will help Black Christians understand their responsibility in changing unhealthy systems in the social order.

The late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was the epitome of the Black Pastor who functioned as a catalyst for systemic change. This was the role thrust upon his shoulders when he was serving as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. He is undeniably the outstanding model the contemporary Black Pastor has for systemic change. Lerone Bennett, Jr., a former friend and classmate of King's at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, put King's emergence as the foremost leader of the Civil Rights Movement into perspective.

> As a catalytic agent, King created a revolutionary point of departure, a new tissue of relations and hopes. As a magnet and exemplar myth, as an invitation to a new way of life and struggle, King attracted and released the energies of men and women of varying viewpoints.[37]

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[36] Ibid., p. 80. (Italics mine.)

[37] Lerone Bennett, Jr., Confrontation: Black and White (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 228. Cf. Don S. Browning, Generative Man (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1966), p. 145. Black Pastors need to take note of the fact that Martin Luther King, Jr., was the height of what Browning calls the "generative man." He was creative,

Bennett said: "Under King's leadership, the nature of the Montgomery struggle changed. What began as a "peaceful" struggle for more equitable treatment within the system became a "nonviolent" struggle to smash the system."[38] Throughout the history of Black people in America no person has been more effective in helping Blacks to overcome the psychological hurdle of compliance to white power structures. Bennett said: "The system of Negro subordination was--and is--founded on willing compliance, on the fact that most people of whatever race or group accommodate themselves to prevailing power realities."[39] The Martin Luther King, Jr., model of systemic change is still a viable one for the contemporary Black Pastor to emulate. It is marked by several outstanding characteristics evident in King's life which are essential for the contemporary Black Pastor.

The first characteristic is personality. King used a winsome, outgoing, and warm personality to great advantage. People are drawn to such a person. The successful Black Pastors have done more with personality than they have with natural talents and professional credentials. Black people are highly oriented toward the outstanding personality. They will follow a personable individual. Catalytic agents must have personality. If not, they should work on developing their best assets. Personality is the human asset which makes impressions on people. It moves people, motivates them and unifies them; or it drives them away. The Black Pastor who would be an effective catalyst for systemic change must have a strong personality.

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he took action, and made things happen for the betterment of all. Browning said: "To generate and maintain a world, but in such a way as to include and yet transcend one's own issue, one's own family, tribe, or nation, and race--this is the essence of the generative man, the essence of his ethics and of his religious meaning." While most Black Pastors are culture bound, having been conditioned by the racial factor, they must rise above culture and also address the wider issues which touch all races and global affairs.

[38] Bennett, Confrontation, p. 232. [39] Ibid., p. 252.

The second characteristic is charisma. This is not to be confused with preaching ability, or the ability to hold an audience spellbound or to make them shout. Such a person may be nothing more than what Wayne Oates called a "grand manipulator." Oates said authentic charisma has three qualities. One is that of the "inherently helpful person." He may have little or less but what he does have is employed to help others. Another is "cross-cultural communication capacity." He is able to relate to people of all walks of life and various levels. A third is the "power of the existential shift."[40] He is able to reorient himself, adjust and move in a new direction whenever necessary. King's career is highlighted by the fact that so many people were helped by him, even millions not of his own race. His willingness to lay down the pastoral charge at Dexter was a pivotal shift toward committing himself totally to the Civil Rights Movement. This personal and emotional decision catapulted him into the annals of American and world history for all time. The Black Pastor who would be an effective catalyst for systemic change must have charisma.

The third characteristic is courage. King was undaunted by the Southern system of racial injustice to the Black man. His commitment to nonviolence as "a tactic" and "a way of life" is a monument of courage which was compared to the death of Christ on a Cross, the burning of Joan of Arc at the stake, and Mohandas Ghandi, who became his model for its implementation. King once said: "Without violence we totally disrupted the system, the life style of Birmingham, and then Selma, with their unjust and unconstitutional laws."[41] The Black Pastor who would be an effective catalyst for systemic change must have courage and infect the people being led.

A fourth characteristic is perspective. King's perspective on the Civil Rights struggle was shaped by several intellectual influences.

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[40] Wayne E. Oates, Pastoral Counseling (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), p. 94 f.

[41] Martin Luther King, Jr., The Trumpet of Conscience (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 54.

One was "evangelical liberalism," and another the "social gospel" of Walter Rauschenbusch. He was also influenced by Reinhold Neibuhr on the ethical issue of sin and power. A more prevailing influence was the "personalism" of the Boston school of thought. He grappled with the problem of functioning in a pluralistic society, marked by diversity.[42] King's perspective aimed at correcting evil social structures, and evolved into a "vision of the beloved community." Kenneth L. Smith said: "King envisaged a new social order wherein all kinds of people and groups would live together as brothers and share equally the abundance of God's creation."[43] The Black Pastor who would be a catalyst for systemic change must have an intellectually sound and pragmatic perspective.

A fifth characteristic is care. King cared for the oppressed, particularly the economically oppressed. His fight against the political system to effect change for Civil Rights took on a larger dimension in the fight against a society that permitted "poverty in the midst of plenty," and was noted throughout the world as the "affluent society." He could not reconcile the millions spent in Vietnam for an unjust war with the plight of the poor in America. He once said: "The emergency we now face is economic, and it is a desperate and worsening situation."[44] Paris said: "King viewed economic justice as a necessary structural framework for the ultimate end, the blessed community."[45] The Black Pastor who would be a catalyst for systemic change must care about the plight of the "have nots" and do something about it.

To bring about systemic change, the contemporary Black Pastor must pick up the mantle and carry on the legacy of Martin Luther King,

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[42] Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, Jr., Search for the Beloved Community (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1974), p. 21 f. See successive chapters.

[43] Ibid., p. 126. [44] King, p. 55.

[45] Peter J. Paris, Black Leaders in Conflict (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1978), p. 106. Pastoral care in the Black Church should focus on the basic necessities of life--food, shelter, clothing, and a job.

Jr. To have personality, charisma, courage, perspective, and care about people is a large order. This is an awesome task of what it means to be a Black Pastor to Black people. A pastor needs all of these qualities. All of these qualities should come into play in pastoral work, and are mandatory for systemic change. The importance of this is amplified by the fact that Black people look to and depend so much on their leaders.

While many Blacks are calling for a "new type of leadership in the Black community," recommending a more organizational and structural approach as opposed to the type of leadership centered and revolving around a single individual with the qualities of King, Blacks will not soon move away from personality-centered leadership. Many Blacks argue that these leaders can be too easily killed off, like the ancient prophets, Jesus and John the Baptist, and Malcolm X. However, history has shown that God of the oppressed will raise one up to speak "thus saith the Lord." Such a person has always appeared in the Black Christian experience. That person need be no other than the local Black Pastor, under whose care God has placed the salvation of Black Christians. Wherever the Black Pastor is requires being a catalyst for systemic change of oppressive structures.

The Black Pastor, Strategies, and Systemic Change

The Black Pastor develops strategies for systemic change in connection with understanding how the system works. The nineteen-sixties taught Blacks in America a good lesson on how the system works. The result was "a surfacing rage" among Blacks, evidenced by riots in large ghetto areas of the nation's largest cities. Blacks were awakened by the "white backlash," the readvent of Richard Nixon, and his call for "law and order." Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Washington, D.C. Urban League, wrote:

> In this awakening, Black America became more acutely aware of the nature of the obstacles it faced. The affronts and hypocrisies of

> the system rubbed now on nerves that seemed suddenly more raw. . . . We began to perceive how the system, while giving us new opportunities with one hand, snatched them back with the other.[46]

Blacks developed a keener sensitivity to the inner workings of the system. The system was designed to let Black people go only so far, so fast and no more. The natural response from the Black community was anger and rage. Many Blacks sensed that they had been deceived. According to Tucker, "This new Black sensitivity to the . . . system did not breed faith, charity, or resignation. The answer, of course, was anger, deep and strong."[47]

A basic strategy for changing a system that equivocates is for Black Pastors to lead their churches toward becoming independent financial power blocks. This provides a leverage for changing the system through the democratic structures of American government. This ie exactly what the Reverend Leon Sullivan, a Black Pastor in the Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, does as a board member of General Motors and through the creation of OIC for Black economic development. In a speech given at a dinner meeting of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Doral Hotel, Miami, Florida, January 28, 1972, Reverend Sullivan said:

> This is the number one problem of the nations. If we can solve this problem, if we can make America truly America for everyone, Black, as well as white, then the American flag will fly with new meaning around the world, and challenges to our American way of life will lose most of their power. The rest of the world (the majority of which is non-white) is not strongly against democracy or against the free enterprise system, but rather against the way America treats her Black citizens.[48]

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[46] Sterling Tucker, For Blacks Only (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971), p. 38.

[47] Ibid., p. 39.

[48] Leon H. Sullivan, Alternatives to Despair (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1972), p. 112.

Sullivan seeks to develop economic "alternatives to despair" in the Black community through the church, combined with the support of other pastors and their churches. His Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) stretches across the United States and into Africa. The centers are designed to help Blacks and other races receive vocational training. Hicks speaks of the phenomenal success of Pastor Sullivan's OIC program and its fundamental strategy for change. He is a powerful image of what a pastor and a church can do to improve the lot of Blacks through the economic system.

> Not to be forgotten in the area of more positive images of the contemporary Black preacher is the Reverend Leon Sullivan, whose business acumen and ability to walk the federal funding tightropes has produced an international Opportunities Industrialization Centers program with centers around the world. OIC is engaged in the training and development of the Black and the poor with a success rate that is the envy of the more traditional Black social agencies such as the National Urban League and the NAACP.[49]

A fundamental strategy of OIC is to help Black Pastors and bring them closer to the problems of the Black community.

> Of primary importance is the fact that OIC puts to use much of the training and natural leadership of Black preachers whose churches are not able to maintain them in full-time positions or whose natural commitment to social ministries liberates them to this kind of assignment. In any case, it places the Black preacher at the intimate, workaday level with the Black community and has a corresponding effect on the image of black preachers in local communities.[50]

Another Black minister who has developed strategies for economic, political, and educational change in the system is the Reverend Jessie Jackson of Operation Push in Chicagol Illinois. Hicks said of him:

> Now the head of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), which claims a membership of 60,000, Jackson is engaged in such nontraditional preacher roles as speaking to statehouses of legislators, organizing mayoral campaigns, touring at least two industrial plants per week to keep in touch with the common man, and addressing corporate executives and congressional committees.[51]

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[49] Hicks, p. 68. [50] Ibid., p. 69. [51] Ibid., p. 67.

One of the things of which Jackson is keenly aware is how the system keeps Blacks divided, particularly on economic levels. He recognizes that all Blacks are in a similar bind, whatever their economic level.

> See, some black folks think they can escape the system and talk about blacks who are "out" or "in" the system. And that's a lot of bull--we're all in the system. By working in it, buying in it or living in it you are "in" the system. But some blacks will put down other blacks who they say are "in" the system as if all of us weren't caught in--similar binds. All this attitude does is create schisms in the black community between those with low paying jobs and high paying jobs.[52]

Alliances with such productive and creative organizations as OIC and PUSH can strengthen the position of Black Pastors who are trying to effect similar changes at the local level. Traditional alliances with the NAACP, the Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference can also strengthen the position of the local Black Pastor. All of these bodies have branch offices in most major cities and regions of the country.

Sterling Tucker suggested that future strategies among Blacks for changing the system must lean more and more toward alliance bodies not only in but outside the Black community who are committed to similar changes from their own organizational standpoint. He favored ad hoc alliances for special issues and concerns. "We find other potential alliances appearing on the horizon, alliances with those who, like us to some measure, have been deprived of full participation in the system."[53] Among these are the poor and the hispanic. Working with whites who are sympathetic and committed to the Black cause should not be bypassed despite past and recent history. They must, however, be made to see that Blacks are not the problem. They are. Until they realize this there is little they can do to help.

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[52] Alvin F. Poussaint, Why Blacks Kill Blacks (New York: Emerson Hall Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 48.

[53] Tucker, p. 130.

In addition to these helpful alliances, Black Pastors should confront their local ministers' conferences, state, and national conventions to develop strategies for systemic change. These basically preaching and fellowship systems could play a tremendous role in putting pressure on the economic, educational, and political systems. These bodies must not be content just to preach to each other, make contacts for more preaching engagements, revivals, and afternoon fellowships and various anniversaries. For these groups to move from this type of irrelevant and self serving posture calls for "a new type of leadership." Such a leadership will challenge and help "parents organize to confront the school system with its failures and their children's needs."[54]

The various Black conventions could be instrumental in waging the challenge against the political system. Instead they are bogged down annually with personality squabbles over who is going to be the president or Bishop, who is on to preach next, and where they will meet for their quarterly meetings. Many Black Pastors, however, who belong to these bodies, share the same cynical feelings as most Blacks about what can be attained through the political system. Tucker said: "The idea of working through the political system to achieve real change strikes a cynical note among many Blacks."[55]

Tucker stated that Black Pastors should maintain direction in trying to make changes in the political system. "Through the political system we can move massively into the mainstream of America--not just to be part of the mainstream, for much of it is polluted and often flows in the wrong direction, but to clean it up and make it answer our needs."[56] The Black Pastor has a moral obligation "to clean it up" for the health of Black people. They go out Sunday after Sunday into the work-a-day world. The ability to help Black Christians within the fold is highly determined and conditioned by how the Black Pastor helps them to deal with those realities outside the fold.

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[54] Ibid., p. 185. [55] Ibid., p. 191. [56] Ibid.

SHEPHERDING BLACK CHRISTIANS AND SOCIETAL SYSTEMS

Preaching, Liberation, and Systemic Change

The Black Pastor who steps into the pulpit Sunday after Sunday has a moral and pastoral obligation to preach the Liberating Word of God. The Word should help Black Christians not only to live in a society with oppression and evil structures, but also to confront and change the systems devised to maintain them.

In preaching the Liberating Word of God, the Black Pastor must issue the call for action and must let Black Christians know that "having church" is not enough. Unfortunately, many Black churches are content just to have church. The fault lies with Black preachers who are content just "to have a church." Church and pastor are overly preoccupied with their own internal concerns, and whether or not the institution is faring well. Too often this has meant nothing more than a "preaching station" for the pastor. Too often this has meant nothing more than pacifying the membership. As a result, many Black Pastors are anxiously concerned primarily with holding onto their churches.

The Reverend Clarence J. Davis, Jr., a Black Pastor in the Calvary Baptist Church in Santa Monica, California, said: "The typical Black Baptist preacher will do anything to get a church and some will do anything to keep it!" The Black Church system breeds the sort of thing Pastor Davis is talking about. The tragedy is that such men compromise their preaching, losing the impact it should have for motivating, equipping, and challenging Black Christians to action.

Dr. Henry H. Mitchell, a Director of the Ecumenical Center for Black Church Studies in Los Angeles, California, points to Jessie Jackson's operation Push as the sort of thing Black Pastors and churches should be about in changing the system. "Dr. Jessie Jackson preaches and the people sing and pray, and then they launch a campaign that packs a wallop in the placement of Blacks in the Chicago Job market."[57] Dr. Joseph R. Washington was adamant:

> The rallying cry of the pulpit must be . . . for purposes of changing the local power structures in each community and therefore the economic forces which respond positively to legislative changes, in lieu of root changes required to eliminate the profound social evils.[58]

To preach and to get Black Christians to take action invariably means that the Black Pastor will have to assume a strong prophetic stance. Hicks said: "There ought to be a prophetic priority that every Black Pastor will speak out against evil structures, and against the systems that maintain them, with the fervor of the 'old time Negro preacher.'"[59] The old time Black Preachers, particularly during slavery, in their preachments, identified heavily with the prophetic tradition of the ancient Israelites. Their message was able to reach across the diversity of languages and tribes congregated on a given plantation. They taught them the good in life and gave them hope for a better day against the structures of the evil plantation system. The slave preachers unified them against this system.

James Weldon Johnson has captured the prophetic spirit of the old time Black preacher. "It was through him that the people of diverse languages and customs who were brought from diverse parts of Africa and thrown into slavery were given their first sense of unity and solidarity. He was the first shepherd of this bewildered flock."[60]

Johnson said of the old-time Black preacher: "They were all saturated with the sublime phraseology of the Hebrew prophets. . . ."[61] According to Abraham J. Heschel, one of the hallmarks of the Hebrew prophets was their "sensitivity to evil" and/or their "breathless impatience with injustice."[62] The prophet "left no stone unturned" in addressing the Liberating Word of God to oppressive conditions. This was marked by his profound faith in a God that demands justice in history for the affairs of men.

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[57] Henry H. Mitchell, Black Preaching (New York: J. B. Lippencott Co., 1970), p. 217.

[58] Joseph R. Washington, Jr., The Politics of God (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 217.

[59] Hicks, p. 116.

[60] James Weldon Johnson, God's Trombones (New York: Viking Press, 1968), p. 2.

> Where an idea is the father of faith, faith must conform to the ideas of the given system. In the Bible the realness of God came first, and the task was how to live in a way compatible with His presence. Man's coexistence with God determines the course of history."[63]

The contemporary Black Pastor shares the tradition of the old-time Black preacher and the Hebrew prophets. The Pastor must speak their vivid and picturesque language about the utter realities of oppression, reminding Black people that a God of the oppressed still moves in their affairs. At this point, Black Christians must accept the prophetic stance of their pastor: move with their pastor in changing the system; knowing that a God who hates evil and loves justice is on their side.

To preach the Liberating Word of God, and to take a strong prophetic stance, therefore, means the Black Pastor will insist that Black Christians not avoid but deal with the prevailing realities of modern life. Black Christians must not close themselves off in their churches from the society around them.

One reality, of course, is organized life and the systems that keep it in motion. Organized life colors the relationships between people, and certainly between Black and white people. Quite simply, whites control organized life in America. Blacks have to scratch at the door for an opportunity to come in. This presents serious moral and spiritual problems for both races.

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[61] Ibid., p. 9.

[62] Abraham J. Heschel, The Prophets (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 3 f.

[63] Ibid., p. 16.

Jesse Jai McNiel was deeply concerned about this circumstance during his brilliant but brief career. "The preacher-prophet's concern with the moral and spiritual problems or organized human life reaches back to the settling of the Israelite clans in the hill country of Canaan. . . ."[64] In dealing with organized life and its various subsystems, the Black Pastor must truly be "God's voice in community affairs." For instance, there is much that can be done to alter unjust economic, political and social arrangements that are oppressive to Black people. McNiel added: "The prophets spoke out in the name of Jahweh against the oppressive economic and social arrangements of the nation and the partial and corrupt administration of justice through the courts."[65]

Another reality is the fact that we live in an industrialized society. McNiel said: "The complexities and demands of community living in modern industrialized society meet us wherever we are and wherever we go."[66] Black Christians are a part of this highly industrialized society. Their ability to function well in it depends on coping with its various systems, especially the economic and political machinery of organized industry.

The emergence of organized life and industrialization in this century gave birth to a third reality -urbanization. H. Beecher Hicks pointed to the problem of the "urban plantation" as the contemporary expression of the slave plantation of the antebellum South. Granting substantial gains and progress for Blacks in American society, he said: "Although much has been achieved in altering the status of Blacks in white American society, blacks are now residents of an urban plantation."[67]

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[64] Jesse Jai McNiel, The Preacher-Prophet in Mass Society (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1961), p. 3 f.

[65] Ibid., p. 69 f. [66] Ibid., p. 74. [67] Hicks, p. 43.

Hicks added:

> Now the scene has changed, but the plantation, symbolically speaking, is just as real. The plantation of history meant poor housing, inferior food, little or no education, and quasi-employment which never provided an income in relationship to production. That there has been a change in the condition of blacks cannot be argued. However, it is nonetheless true that blacks are still bound by the chains of oppression, and, though the gauge of the steel may have changed, the reality of the restriction has not.[68]

Preaching the Liberating Word of God, calling for action, taking a strong prophetic stance, and thereby dealing with the prevailing realities of modern life is a big order for Black Pastors. Nevertheless, here lies their responsibility in bringing Black liberation to a completion. Black Christians need in their pastor a person of action, who has the prophet's sensitivity to evil, and who will help them to deal realistically with what is before them. The Liberating Word is preached to confront and challenge. William Agustus Jones said:

> Convinced that real preaching is prophetic in character and thrust. It is about the business of confrontation and challenge. It is missionary in the sense of mission to the mess created and perpetuated by sinful man and unredeemed social structures. It takes place with the conviction that the Kingdom of God is on a collision course with the kingdoms of this world. Systemic sin and institutionalized iniquity, along with personal sins and transgressions are within the province of the preacher's concern.[69]

Teaching, Liberation, and Systemic Change

While prophetic preaching of the Liberating Word may be used to rally the people to their responsibility in confronting and changing an evil system, prophetic teaching of the Liberating Word offers the Black Pastor an opportunity to think, analyze, and develop strategy. Teaching is prophetic when it informs minds with a way or provides a method to address the System. It does this, for example, when the System is understood in the context of the larger reality of which it is a part.

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[68] Ibid., p. 44.

[69] William A. Jones, Jr., God in the Ghetto (Elgin, Ill.: Progressive Baptist Publishing House, 1970), p. 3.

The larger reality of how systems in contemporary society have evolved is directly related to the advances of "the technological society." Jacques Ellul put this into perspective:

> The grandeur and the misery of life as most mankind now lives it depends upon technology. . . . Economic development emerges as a new religion. Mechanization takes over as the center goal, to be cherished and attained at all costs. In this sense, all the world is becoming Americanized and Russified."[70]

That this is the most advanced technological society in the Western hemisphere, that the ethics and values of all societal systems and the individuals who make them up are influenced by technology, is a reality few Black Pastors and churches have addressed. The basic problem is a lack of knowledge of how technology has become the God of an urban capitalistic and industrialized society, and its commanding influence on those systems which touch everyone. The old plantation master has become a technological demagogue. Those who do not fit into this technology will surely become part of the waste of society. They will not fit into the system.

Sterling D. Plumpp, a Black psychologist, in Black Rituals, teaches a strong lesson to the Black Church regarding the necessity of learning what modern technology is all about. He implied that this is the present key to understanding and dealing with systemic structures. "Black Liberation is a movement of a people who haven't mastered either the philosophy or techniques (method) of technology, against a people whose religion is technology."[71] This produces many problems for Blacks, particularly in the economic system. He said:

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[70] Jacques Ellul, "The Technological Society," in Bernard Rosenberg, ed., Analyses of Contemporary Society, Vol. II (2d ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967), p. 1.

[71] Plumpp, p. 64.

> There are only a few rewards, in terms of roles, in urban, technological, and capitalistic societies and the vacancies are filled by the members of those groups who understand the system well enough to know how to carve out places for themselves between the untouchable rulers and the starving masses. This is the political, economic, psychological and cultural reality of America--all individuals fighting for what only a few can possibly get.[72]

Plump was adamant:

> People are educated to master technology and all the prayers, poems, sermons, and raps in the world cannot compensate for a good functional educational system controlled by Black people, for Black people, and viable enough to be passed on from one generation to the next.[73]

He may even be cynical, but he was more adamant when reflecting on the economic consequences for Blacks. He said:

> The severity of this crisis is reflected in the fact that the Black Church didn't interpret Black joblessness in social terms like increase in automation, technology, etc. . . . Even worse, the Black Church did not have any programs designed to do anything about problems directly related in industrialism and the automating of this country. In fact, the sole beneficiary of the Black Church was the preacher. He got new homes, new suits, new Cadillacs, and the people got nothing. There were no day care centers, no free breakfast programs, no welfare programs, no housing programs, no savings and loan associations, and no educational programs.[74]

Plumpp believes that one possible solution lies in the hands of the growing Black middle class. They represent the "specialists" and "experts" in the Black community. Their leadership capacity, however, is questionable and may not be desirable. "Because the Black middle class possesses the skills which allow them to compete within the system doesn't mean that they are capable now of leading the race anywhere; only that they must be included in the program."[75] Plumpp added:

> And it doesn't mean that the cat on the block is any more capable of leadership either. What is needed is a merger of the street

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[72] Ibid., p. 65. [73] Ibid., p. 66. [74] Ibid., p. 67.

[75] Ibid., p. 75.

> psychology of right-now-concretism with the middle class skills of manipulation, or we Black people must take from educational facilities only that which aids our survival.[76]

This is not to suggest that the Black Pastor must learn modern technology, but to suggest that the Pastor must be aware of its ramifications for Black people. The pastor's ability to create dialogue with Black specialists and experts in the various fields of technological advancement would help in teaching Blacks what is happening to them. The ability to secure the help of the Black middle class should be strategic. Although they may have the skills and the cat on the street the psychology, the Pastor has more; the people, the base of operation, and the role of historic leadership. Black Pastors need only win the confidence of both, and teach Black Christians that it is necessary for all quarters of the Black community to come together for the liberation of the whole.

In the main, this will require the Black Pastor to teach Black people the magnitude of the problem. The oppressed sometimes tend to close themselves off from matters that are too large to grasp. Still the matter is large and will not go away. It looms even larger in the years to come and dominates every area of life. Jessie Jai McNiel, while pastoring Metropolitan Baptist Church in Pasadena, California, reflected on this problem just before his untimely death. He wrote:

> The enormous industrial and technological developments that have taken place in the United States have been accompanied by correspondingly prodigious organizations through which are defined, administered, developed, and modified the major interests and concerns of our social life; politics, business, labor, religion.[77]

In short, the Liberating Word must speak to the contemporary social order of the Black Pastor's people. This grows out of a deep prophetic concern for Black people, and their oppressed condition in the social order. According to T. B. Y. Scott, "The Prophets were deeply concerned with the nature of the social order in which they lived. . . ."[78] The concern was broad and penetrating, because of the inevitable and lasting and ofttimes crippling effect it has on people and life. Scott said:

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[76] Ibid. [77] McNiel, Mission in Metropolis, p. 104.

> The nature and purposes of political authority, economic and class interest, social institutions of many kinds, the way in which the individual finds his place in the community and adjusts his relations with his fellows, the physical conditions under which the community must maintain its existence--all these (and other) factors profoundly affect the quality of personal relationships and the worth of life itself. With this quality and worth the prophets were deeply concerned.[79]

Healing, Liberation, and Systemic Change

William Augustus Jones implicitly raised the question of healing in relation to the System which dehumanizes Black people.

> Throughout the length of the black experience in America, one basic burning query has sounded forth: How does one deal with a racist order? *How does one change a social system that is not simply sick, but deeply demonic?* What method does one employ to overcome a system whose holy trinity is capitalism, racism, and militarism?[80]

The question is one that haunts the prophetic sensitivity of the Black Pastor and one the pastor must ask.

Often the demons which the Black Pastor must cast out are directly related to the System which dehumanizes Black people. The healing of the Liberating Word must be applied to this condition. It must be applied as medicine for wounded Black spirits, helping them to face the source of their affliction and to confront it. The pastor must warn them of the dangers to the health of the race in repressing their hurts. That it is all right to cry out! This is better than internalizing the problem, letting it destroy our interiority and even each other. The genius of Black religion is that it raises "the voice of protest" against the afflictors who have hurt Black people.

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[78] R. B. Y. Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 171.

[79] Ibid. [80] Jones, God in the Ghetto, p. 114.

Finding answers and methods for helping a socially and psychologically brutalized people to change a sick and demonic social system is a prodigious order. Few Blacks are hopeful of changing the System as it presently stands, because its benefits are too large for those who perpetuate it to relinquish. Blacks are very realistic. The men who shepherd them must be realistic. The brutalizing effects of the System on the Black psyche can be fought, providing Blacks are willing and their pastors can help them to shed certain psychological shackles which have imprisoned their minds.

Calvin B. Marshall III, a professor of pastoral care through the Institute of Black Ministries in the Conwell School of Theology in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, defined these psychological shackles. The first is the Afro-Saxon mentality. This "is the psychological urge to be white, and so strong is the urge that men who have black faces and who have suffered the reality of the black condition yet seemingly can brush aside their blackness and embrace values that are white."[82] He elaborated:

> It is fair and accurate to say that most Black people in America beyond the age of twenty, at one period or another, have suffered from this malady. For it affects us in so many subtle ways. And even those of us who are liberated in our minds can remember at some point of our lives being influenced by the white man's standards of beauty and by his standards of right and wrong. Many black people of all ages, from various backgrounds, are still thinking with the white man's mind, although we have pointed out

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[82] Calvin B. Marshall, III, "The Black Church--Its Mission Is Liberation," in C. Eric Lincoln, ed., The Black Experience in Religion (New York: Anchor Books, 1974), p. 162.

> that the so-called black middle class seemed to succumb to this malady more easily than their less affluent brothers. It must also be noted that many poor Blacks are yet struggling for the day when they can be integrated, white and acceptable.[83]

Marshall pointed to what he feels is the heart of this matter. "The Afro-Saxon condition is a problem of identity and of values. Those Black people who are still thinking, acting and reacting white are simply doing so because they have never achieved, or have lost a sense of identity."[84] This says how large the Black Pastor's pastoral responsibility is: to help the people understand who they are! The nineteen-sixties were helpful in this regard, awakening Blacks to their own identity. The Black Pastor and church must continue to restore health here.

Marshall identified the second condition as the Syndrome of the Colonized. He elaborated:

> We must come to understand that many black people who are poor, who are living in the ghetto, and are eking out a living in the rural South, who seem to lack the incentive to improve their conditions are suffering from the Colonized Mentality. Although many of them consciously will proclaim that they are as good as and equal to any other people, long years of powerlessness in the black condition causes them subconsciously to see themselves as an inferior breed. There is a resignation to conditions as they are and a sense of nonconfidence in their ability to take into their own hands their social, educational, and political destiny.[85]

It is an enigma of contemporary America, with all of its affluence and money poured overseas toward imperialistic and capitalistic adventurism, that conditions exist in certain rural quarters of America, as reported by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) telecast Sixty Minutes, in 1979, that are the same as those which existed prior to Emancipation. Somehow Black Pastors in these areas, many of whom commute back and forth as circuit pastors, need to seek the support of their denominations in attacking the System. Black Church conventions and connections need to turn away from their internal affairs long enough and to become sensitive to those situations where Blacks are still living under plantation conditions as late as the dawn of the nineteen-eighties.

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[83] Ibid. [84] Ibid. [85] Ibid., p. 163.

Marshall designated a third condition as that of the classical Slave Mentality.

> Unlike those who are living under the Colonized Syndrome, there are Blacks who feel that their inferior status has been indeed decreed by heaven and they are justly proud of being orderly and knowing their place. They bear more resemblance to the Afro-Saxon mentality than to the Colonized Mind. However, the marked difference between them and the Afro-Saxon is that they do not delude themselves with the notion that they have entered into the mainstream of white society. They are contented in being the good, God-fearing patriotic colored servants.[86]

The System produces these psychological conditions in Black people, and for the Liberating Word to have a healing effect, the prophetic role of the Black Pastor and the church must be nothing short of liberation. The restoration of wholeness for the race is in the hands of the Black Pastor and Black Church. The Liberating Word must say to wounded Black spirits: Sure, there is a mean person out there who has hurt you badly, and continues to hurt you in insidiuos and subtle ways. At the same time, the Liberating Word should say that healing is not in imitating that person or thinking like that person or worshiping that person. Healing occurs when the cause of our disease is diagnosed and treated. What is ultimately required is what Wayne Oates called the prophetic principle of "face-to-faceness."[87] This is where it begins in bringing wholeness to the estrangement between the masters of the System and those who are dehumanized by it.

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[86] Ibid., p. 164.

[87] Wayne E. Oates, Pastoral Counseling in Social Problems (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1965).

The demonic and systemic structures of American society are not unlike those Jesus knew in ancient Jerusalem. Undeniably the Black Pastor's greatest challenge and the most dangerous is in fulfilling the prophetic role in the shepherding of Black Christians. The benefits Black Christians receive from their pastor's ministry depends on their reception of the Pastor as prophet. The Pastor must not only speak to systemic sins of the larger society but individual and group sins.

> Luke 13:33
>
> Nevertheless I must go my way today and tomorrow and the day following for it cannot be that a prophet should perish away fro from Jerusalem. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you!
>
> Matthew 10:41
>
> He who receives a prophet because he is a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward. . . .

SUMMARY

Shepherding Black Christians and confronting societal systems is the Black Pastor's opportunity to fulfill the prophetic role.

The Black Church is the most experienced institution for confronting societal systems which oppress Black people and in thrusting forward in completing the liberation process.

The Black Church must continue to confront those systems which oppress Black people, particularly the economic, political, and educational. To be effective in confronting the system today the Black Church must develop more organizational capability in confronting societal systems. The Black Church's primary objective is systemic change in completing the liberation process.

The Black Pastor is the primary religio-cultural leader in leading Black Christians and the race in confronting societal systems to complete the liberation process.

The Black Pastor fights the system. The primary model for the Black Pastor is Martin Luther King, Jr., who began fighting the unjust and racist systems in American life while pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. The Black Pastor must be a catalyst for systemic change, which brings into play certain personal qualities that inspire Black Christians to join in effecting systemic change. The Black Pastor must be a leader in developing strategies for systemic change and working in unison with other agencies of systemic change for the oppressed. Today, this could mean moving away from the personality-centered leadership revolving around one person and a more organizational approach.

Shepherding Black Christians requires employing ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing to effect systemic change. Preaching can effect systemic change as a prophetic rallying cry from the pulpit in speaking out against individual and institutionalized iniquity. Teaching can effect systemic change as a prophetic development of the thought, instruction, training, and planning that is required. Healing can effect systemic change as a prophetic demonstration of the effects a sick and demonic system can cause in degrading human personality and the health of Black people in a society where they have not been wanted.

The prophetic posture of the Black Church and the Black Pastor means ultimately bringing to bear the judgment of a God of the oppressed through the medium of the Liberating Word and the liberating ministry of Christ. In the prophetic role, the Black Pastor will address the Liberating Word of God on behalf of the oppressed in confronting the realities of modern life and the systems of which these realities are a part. This includes the realities of industrialization, urbanization, and technology.

The Black Pastor's prophetic posture and the role of the Black Church are designed to prevent another generation of Blacks from becoming a part of the waste of this society. Black Christians must be confronted to assume responsibility for their own liberation and not cry about what the man had done and is doing to them. At this point, the keys to liberation are professional or academic preparation. A second key is developing economic power blocks, beginning with the Black Church. A third key is to learn and master the legislative process.

The Black Pastor's prophetic posture in completing the liberation process is contingent on getting Black Christians to see the vast potential it has in terms of numerical and financial support in the Black Church. They must further be made to see how this can be used to strengthen the wider Black community.

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS

The background for the proposed model shows that there is a large need for a broader model of ministry in the contemporary Black Church than is normally experienced.

A system of care developed in the social and historical evolution of the Black Church and increasingly became centered primarily in the Sunday morning preaching event. The psychological and social pilgrimage of Black people is a continuous account of waging a battle to be respected as Black persons. Black Pastors interviewed confirm a large need for a broader model of shepherding Black Christians.

The proposed model of shepherding Black Christians requires pastoral balance as a father/mother figure of the extended Black Family, the Black Church.

Shepherding and the preaching ministry is primary for proclaiming the Liberating Word of a God of the oppressed. Shepherding and the teaching ministry is primary for instruction in the Liberating Word of a God of the oppressed. Shepherding and the healing ministry is primary in demonstrating the Liberating Word of a God of the oppressed. Each ministry interpenetrates, complements, and supports the others. The Black Pastor is forced to be priest and prophet, and a dialectic exists between the pastoral roles. The ministries of preaching, teaching, and healing can move on a priestly and prophetic level.

This model will not be readily accepted but it is needed. The religio-cultural conditioning of the Black Pastor as a preacher primarily and that of Black Christians as a people primarily of the preached Word, from the birth of the institutional Black Churches and the Pentecostal movement to the present, keeps the Black Church currently locked into its personality-centered pastoral leadership. This is a religio-cultural happening which historically has its advantages and disadvantages. It is a limited model of ministry, however, for a people whose needs have always been vast. A broader model--it should be noted--requires training and skills denied an earlier generation of Black Pastors. It is only recently that Black Pastors have been receiving a college and seminary education in any appreciable numbers, not to mention the dangers of acculturation from the masses of Black Christians being exposed to and going through the academic process, which is designed, standardized, and controlled by whites.

Acceptance of this model on the part of Black Pastors would require several major shifts which are deeply ingrained. A shift from the preacher boy syndrome is necessary. Although a crucial part of the total ministry and the key to survival in the Black Church, this is the simple recognition that the ministry does not begin nor end in the pulpit. Another shift would call for a reassessment of the conservative evangelical heritage the Black Church initially received from the white Baptists and Methodists during slavery and which is still a dominant factor in the contemporary Black Church towards a more holistic ministry. A final shift would be a recognition that the genius of the Black Church is FAMILY! This is what slavery tried to take away from Blacks, and this is what must be kept and strengthened. Herein lies the range, depth, and boundaries of the Black Pastor's ministry to Black Christians.

There are several ways in which this proposed model shepherding of Black Christians can be effected:

1. There is the multiple staff approach. On a large scale, this is several decades away in the Black Church. Few Black Pastors will share their churches with ministers of equal professional skills. This leaves an awesome pastoral responsibility on one person. Also, Black Christians look to their pastor and not to other ministers in the church. The lack of the pastoral presence and touch brings a feeling of insecurity and lack of direction. Anyway, few Black Churches can afford a multiple staff ministry.

2. There is the development of lay persons as extensions of the pastoral arm. A fading generation of Black Pastors was not given to sharing power and influence with members on an equal basis. A false sense of power and control existed. Traditionally, in the words of a prominent Black Pastor, "Power is 'the name of the game' in the Black Church." The traditional Black Pastor felt the need to keep the power of the church under the office of pastor. The contemporary Black Pastor needs to share power and influence with lay persons which otherwise may become a forced situation on the office of pastor.

3. There is a growing number of Black seminarians coming into the contemporary Black Church. Unfortunately, many of them are locked into the preacher boy syndrome. They began their ministries with the singular perception of their calling to preach. They follow in the steps of their forebears. They feed their people on verbal power, but hardly anything else. Seemingly, they cannot resist the conscious and unconscious traditional glory of the Black pulpit. Ego needs and acceptance among the proud Black preaching fraternity are a major factor. Yet this is the group that will bring pastoral balance into the Black Church.

4. There is what David Elton Trueblood calls the "academy concept" of church growth. Applied to the Black Church context, the church takes on the complexion of a satellite seminary. Specialists and experts are trained to cover every department of the church. This would require also a great deal of organizational capability not generally apparent in the traditional Black Churches. This would allow space for the Black Pastor to provide general pastoral oversight and at the same time to specialize in a given field. Pastoral oversight would require, with the use of the proposed model, that every ministry or role be fulfilled at some point.

Nonetheless, what is being recommended is a heavy commitment to pastoral work outside the pulpit beyond what is generally done in traditional Black Churches. The Black Pastor will be a mouthpiece for a God of the oppressed. The Black Pastor will instruct Black Christians

Black Christians in the priorities of the Christian life for the Black experience. The Black Pastor will be a veritable co-worker with the Eternal in bringing wholeness to Black Christians. The Black Pastor will focus on individual and group needs. The Black Pastor will address those areas of life that keep Black people bound.

The Black Pastor's ultimate goal, which must take place at the local level, is the completion of the liberation process through the Black Church. The local Black Pastor is the key to completing the liberation process.

There are several areas of research beyond this exploratory work which are needed. These would require more specialized attention to certain subjects. The following subjects need to be researched and added to the growing body of literature on the Black religious experience: the Black Church and the Black Family, Pastoral Theology in the Black Church, the Pastoral Presence in the Black Church, Group Life in the Black Church, Kinship Therapy in the Black Church, etc.

1. The subject of the Black Church and the Black Family could be explored via the historical relationship between the two institutions. Relevant literature and a social case method could be used.

2. The subject of pastoral theology in the Black Church should be researched, beginning with the available literature which has been written and compiled since the formal inception of Black Theology in the sixties. The liberation motif should form the basis of Black Pastoral Theology, with the Bible as a primary source for answers to the needs of Black Christians. This would also be informed by the personality sciences.

3. The subject of the pastoral presence in the Black Church would be an exploration of what it means for the minister to be available to the people, and respond to their views, images, and expectations. A standardized interview could be used.

4. The subject of group life in the Black Church would require researching how Black Christians minister to each other at the lay

level and the structures in which this has traditionally taken place. A method of empirical observation could be used.

5. The subject of kinship therapy in the Black Church is based on the theory that a lost relative, broken or unhealthy family networks can be restored in the church. A thorough examination of the African kinship model of family life and the extended family phenomenon in the Black experience should be made through available literature. It should be supported by contemporary cases from individual, couple, and family counseling.

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